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The First Half Century of Brazilian History

The discovery of Brazil was but an incident in the effort of Spain and Portugal to obtain the trade in spices and drugs of the Orient. The race for the precious commodities resulted, as is well known, in the discovery of the American landfall by Columbus and others for Spain, and by Cabral for Portugal. The Portuguese had almost reached their goal in the Orient in 1488, when Bartholomeu Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope and pointed the way to the navigation of the Indian Ocean. It was not, however, until ten years later, May 20, 1498, that Vasco da Gama dropped anchor in Calicut and gathered products of India for the return journey. His voyage accomplished what had been the dream of both nations, that of reaching the Indies by an all-sea route and of securing profits from Eastern wares which had previously gone to Venice.

It may well be realized with what satisfaction the king and people of Portugal received the news of da Gama's success, for they were a small nation and had little wealth. Furthermore, their men had reached India before the Spaniards. The products brought from his Indies by Columbus were insignificant compared to those sent back by da Gama. The Portuguese did not underestimate the dangers of the long way to India, which might make their losses greater than their gains, but with characteristic daring decided to send a second fleet. Financed partly by the crown and partly by private individuals this expedition consisted of thirteen ships and caravels. Some of these were commanded by noblemen, in order to impress the King of Calicut with the majesty of the Portuguese court, since Arabs had told da Gama that the far western kingdom was of no import and its entry into the trade of India no cause for fear. Other captains were among the best navigators in Portugal,

some of whom had gone with da Gama. The entire fleet was placed under the command of Cabral.

Pedro Álvares Cabral was of a good though not over-prominent family. He was favored by both da Gama and the Court, partly because of the loyalty of his family to the king, partly because of his personal qualifications. He was charged to go to India, open commercial relations, establish a factory or trading post, and bring back the eastern products. For exchange he carried a cargo of copper, coral, quicksilver, European wares, and an ample supply of gold Venetian ducats. But the voyage was made not alone for material gain. The Portuguese felt that this new route to India had been shown them by the will of God, to permit them to instruct the people there in the observance of the Catholic faith, for da Gama had said they were Christians. Consequently, Franciscan friars went with the fleet taking religious articles necessary for services in the church. On its sails the fleet bore the red cross of the Order of Christ, of which Cabral was a member; the figurehead at the bow of the flagship was an image of our Lady of Hope. Besides, the voyage was to be in the nature of a crusade, since ships of the Arab infidels were to be destroyed if found on the high seas.

The fleet left Lisbon on March 9, of the jubilee year 1500. The advice of da Gama was of great value to those who had carefully prepared instructions for Cabral's guidance. Cabral could sail to the Cape of Good Hope by the best route, one almost identical with that now recommended for the passage of sailing vessels to the Cape, allowing, of course, for the bulkier ships of that day.

On Wednesday, April 22, land was sighted to the west. Cabral had intentionally swung wide to the westward from the Cape Verde Islands, and had by chance come upon Brazil.¹ Uncertain whether it was an island or a mainland, those on the

¹ Claims have been made that Brazil had been visited before by Europeans who did not return, by Duarte Pacheco Pereira in 1498, the knowledge of whose voyage was kept a secret by the king, or by Spanish navigators. This matter has been discussed by various authors. See especially W. B. Greenlee, *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India*, Hakluyt Society Publications, second series, No. LXXX, London, 1938; S. E. Morison, *Portuguese Voyages to America in the Fifteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1940; Duarte Leite in Vol. I, Ch. 3, of the *Historia da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil*, 3 volumes, Porto, 1921-1924 (hereinafter cited as *Colonização*); Fidelino Figueredo, "The Geographical Discoveries and Conquests of the Portuguese," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, VI (February-August 1926), 47-70; Charles E. Nowell, "The Discovery of Brazil—Accidental or Intentional?" *ibid.*, XVI (August 1936), 311-338.

fleet named it Terra da Vera Cruz or Ihla da Vera Cruz. A landing was made. The inhabitants were friendly. On Friday morning the fleet sailed northward, and found a better harbor within a reef, which was named Porto Seguro.

The Portuguese began to take the measure of the land and its people. The natives wore no clothes, but were painted and tattooed. Their heads received special decoration: mantles and coverings of bright feathers, labrets of bone and colored stones hanging from their cheeks and lips. They were cannibalistic with their enemies. Their houses were communal, built within a stockade.

Mass was said on Sunday and there was a sermon "which dealt with the discovery of this land and referring to the sign of the cross in obedience to which they came." On the following Friday, May 1, Mass was again celebrated, this time at the foot of a large wooden cross which bore the royal arms. A small storeship was then sent back to inform the Portuguese of the discovery. The commander, Gaspar de Lemos, carried two letters to the king; one by Pedro Vaz de Caminha gave a vivid picture of the people, the land, and the visit; the other was by Master John, the king's astronomer. We do not know exactly when de Lemos reached Lisbon, but it was probably early in July. The day after his departure, May 2, Cabral left Brazil.

News of this discovery greatly interested the Portuguese, and King Manuel decided to send a small fleet to learn its extent and its possibilities for development. A wealthy Florentine merchant, Bartolomeo Marchioni, who resided in Lisbon, evidently became interested in learning its commercial value. Furthermore, a group of newly converted Jews, or New Christians, viewed the far-off land as an opportunity not only for trade but also as a likely refuge from persecution in Portugal. Since King Manuel sought to economize in every way at this time to obtain funds for the India fleets, the second voyage to Brazil may be considered largely as a private venture. It was financed chiefly by Marchioni and the New Christians headed by a prominent shipowner in Lisbon, Fernão de Loronha, who probably went as the commander.² It seems evident that the Florentine, Amerigo

² The names of several persons have been mentioned as the commander of this fleet, namely: Gaspar de Lemos, André Gonçalves, Gonzalo Coelho, Nuño Manoel, and Fernão de Loronha. While Vespucci's name has been associated with this voyage and that which followed there is no claim that he was the commander. Gaspar de Lemos had returned from Brazil in a storeship, one which Cabral could most easily spare. While he had had experience on this voyage both to and from Brazil there is no

Vespucci, also was among the notables present on this voyage.³

The fleet was composed of three caravels. It left Lisbon about the middle of May, 1501. After securing a store of salted fish along the African coast it anchored in the Bay of Bese-guiche, the present Dakar. Here it met two caravels of Cabral's fleet returning from the East. From the Italians in one of these an account was obtained, not only of the voyage of Cabral's fleet to Brazil but also of its progress to the Cape of Good Hope. The little fleet then sailed westward through and to the south of the doldrums. Passing the Island of Fernão de Loronha on August 10, the feast of St. Lawrence, it moved with the strong winds until a landing was made at the little bay of São Roque, near the eastern top of Brazil. From there the caravels worked their way eastward briefly, then rounded the easternmost bulge of Brazil and continued south along that coast.

It is not known exactly where the shore was left, but it may have been near the excellent harbor of Cananéia which is the southernmost place shown on the earliest maps. Here the fleet seems to have divided. Fernão de Loronha returned northward and after landing at the island bearing his name on St. John's

document to show that he went on the second voyage. In his *Lendas da Índia* Gaspar Corrêa states that André Gonçalves was the commander. Corrêa, however, wrote in India at a later date and his accounts of the early voyages cannot be considered accurate. Gonçalo Coelho was the commander of the next fleet and there is no contemporary authority who gives him this position in the voyage of 1501-1502. The name of Nuño Manoel was suggested by the historian Adolfo de Varnhagen, but his authority seems too indefinite to warrant the claim that this courtier was the commander. Fernão de Loronha has documentary evidence in his favor. He was the head of a group of New Christians who evidently went on the voyage and on January 16, 1504, (and thus before the return of the third voyage) was granted a donation by the king of the island along the coast of Brazil bearing his name as a reward for his discoveries.

³ The Vespucci bibliography is very large. The *Lettera* and the *Mundus Novus* are given in translation by George T. Northrup in Volumes IV and V respectively of the *Vespucci Reprints, Texts and Studies*, Princeton, 1916.

Vespucci had been to the northern coast of South America previously, as is well known, and had learned something of the inhabitants and products. Our chief information regarding the participation of the New Christians on this voyage is from letters ascribed to Vespucci. While these letters cannot be relied upon completely, they give glimpses from which a narrative of the voyage can be partly reconstructed.

The originals of these letters have never been found. Two are known only from printed copies. The *Mundus Novus* tells only of this voyage and the collection of four voyages, of which this is the third, is generally designated as the *Lettera*. These were evidently first printed in Italy and were widely circulated in Europe through translations. An edition of the *Lettera* published in Latin in 1507 accompanied a small book on cosmography known as *Cosmographia Introductio* in which the name America was first suggested for the western continent. With this edition also there appeared a beautifully engraved world map by Waldseemüller where Vespucci is placed on an equality with Ptolemy. Two other letters telling of

Day, June 25, 1502, reached Lisbon by way of the Azores. Vespucci, however, evidently sailed southeast with the variable winds, then catching the strong westerlies was borne northward with the southeast trades and arrived at Lisbon on July 22. This passage was evidently recommended to him by those on Cabral's fleet. From another source we learn that Vespucci was in Seville on October 3, 1502, resting from his voyage, and that the New Christians had secured a contract for three years, which was evidently exclusive, for the trade in dyewood and slaves from Brazil and stipulating that six ships should be sent each year, that 300 leagues of the shore should be explored each year, and that a fort be established and occupied there during this period. In a later document it is stated that this contract was made in favor of Loronha.

Vespucci returned to Lisbon and we next hear of him as a captain in a fleet destined for Malacca, under the command of Gonçalo Coelho. This consisted of a ship carrying the cargo for

Vespucci's participation in this voyage are known only in manuscript copies made in Florence before 1514. All of these letters are stated to have been addressed to Piero Francesco de Medici except the *Lettera* which is thought to have been directed to Piero Soderini, Gonfoniere of Florence. There are thus three accounts devoted entirely to this voyage and one more telling of the early portion. It can be stated with reasonable certainty that these letters were not written by Vespucci, at least in their present form, and it is doubtful whether they were received by the prominent personages to whom it is stated they were addressed. It is more reasonable to suppose that they were derived from information received either from Spain or in Florence and printed by enterprising publishers in Italy to appeal to public interest. It was because of the wide circulation of the two pamphlets printed both in Italian and in translations that the name of Vespucci came to be connected with this voyage. In the Vespucci letters no locations are mentioned except Cape St. Augustine, and while the descriptions of the natives show some knowledge of a voyage subsequent to that of Cabral, the statements regarding their customs as well as of the animals and products found there are so confused that they are of little value.

In addition to the letters, maps drawn in the first decade of the sixteenth century are of great assistance. These early maps pertain almost exclusively to Brazil, and it was on maps of Brazil that the name America was first shown. Questions relating to the two lines of demarcation dividing the non-Christian world between Spain and Portugal, namely those determined by the Bull, *Inter caetera*, of May 4, 1493, and the Treaty of Tordesillas, signed 1494, also belong to the early history of Brazil in so far as the Atlantic line is concerned. On these maps the coast line usually indicates a discovery from the Angra de São Roque (3°S.) to the west of the cape now bearing that name but which was originally called Cape Santa Crucis to Cananéa to the south. Cape São Agostinho was not originally shown, this name evidently having been inserted after the letters of Vespucci were published. Along the shore a series of place names are shown, usually those of feast days, apparently coinciding with the voyage of 1501-1502. There are other names, however, which indicate later voyages and information available in Lisbon prior to 1505. Similar place names are given in the pilot entitled *Esmeraldo de situ Orbis* written by Duarte Pacheco Pereira shortly after that date. This question is discussed by Duarte Leite in *Colonização*, II. Ch. 13.

trade and five caravels. It was evidently the intention to follow a course similar to that taken by Cabral to Brazil and to leave one of the caravels there together with materials for a fort and a colony of twenty-four New Christians in compliance with the contract above referred to. What we know of this voyage, except for a short statement by the historian Damião de Góis, is given as the fourth voyage of Vespucci, which is to be found in one of the printed pamphlets known as the *Lettera* previously referred to. The account of this voyage may be the most accurate of any of those contained in this letter. It there states that the fleet departed from Lisbon on May 10, 1503, and after an uneventful voyage reached the Cape Verde Islands. Here, according to Vespucci, the commander insisted on proceeding to Sierra Leone, much against the will of the other captains, who did not wish the proposed voyage to Brazil to be abandoned, but no landing was made because of bad weather. Coelho may have had in mind leaving the New Christians there to save time so as not to miss the monsoon for India. The statement is made in the Vespucci letter that the fleet then proceeded S.W. to an island located at 3° S. This has been thought to be the Island of Fernão de Loronha. It seems more reasonable, however, that the 3° there given should be 8°, for there are similar typographical errors elsewhere in this pamphlet. Since the Island of Ascension is in the latter latitude the course of the voyage then becomes clear.⁴ It was here that the flagship containing the cargo for trade was wrecked. Three of the caravels then returned to Lisbon,⁵ and two, that of the New Christians and another commanded by Vespucci with material for these colonists saved from the flagship, proceeded to Bahia de Todos os Santos, which was evidently the first port in Brazil to be reached according to the original plan.

Two months were spent here exploring the bay and the

⁴ The suggested change in the course of this voyage further explains the coast line of Brazil as shown in the world map thought to have been obtained by Alberto Cantino in 1502. It seems reasonable that, while not questioning the fact that Cantino took with him an excellent map of the new discoveries from Portugal in 1502 and that it was the one which reached Duke Hercule d'Este in Ferrara about Christmas of that year, the map now in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena is not the one referred to. This was evidently made by an Italian map maker, probably about 1508, from an early Portuguese source. The note that it was the one brought by Cantino which appears on the back of the map is written in a later hand, as are also many of the notations relating to Brazil on the map itself. It is the writer's hope to discuss this matter more fully in a later article.

⁵ That Coelho returned to Portugal is shown by the fact that he received the position of Receiver of Excises from the king before 1505.

adjacent coast. This location was not suitable for the fort, and furthermore there was little of the desired brazilwood⁶ to be found there. The caravels then sailed directly to the Island of Cape Frio which had evidently been visited previously. Here the fort was erected and the New Christians established a little settlement, the first in Brazil. After an exploratory journey inland, the caravels were loaded and one or both returned to Lisbon. This site was found to be an excellent one for trade, hence, at the expiration of his contract, Loronha and his associates secured another for a period of ten years.

Other Portuguese traders, however, came to Brazil to take back dyewood, slaves, *cassia fistula*, parrots, monkeys, and other animals as well as skins. These, too, were private ventures of which few records remain.⁷ The best account of one of these trading voyages is that of the ship *Bretoa*.⁸ There are indications that a fort was erected near Pernambuco as well as at Cape Frio. Elsewhere these products seem to have been assembled at native villages or at safe harbors for expected ships.

⁶ An excellent work on this subject is that of Bernardino José de Souza, *O Pau-Brasil na História Nacional*, São Paulo, 1939.

This so-called brazilwood had been known for centuries as a source for a red dye coming from the tropical regions of Asia, where it went under various names. The Venetian merchants who brought it to Europe called it *verzino*. The Spaniards had found it in the West Indies and along the coast of the Guianas. It was then brought to Seville and continued to be a source of competition between the traders who brought it from Rio de Janeiro to Rio Grande do Norte. The best came from the vicinity of Pernambuco and as far north as Cabo São Roque. It was found both along the shore and inland. The section to the south from which this wood was chiefly exported was near Cape Frio. Little was obtained in Bahia. There were other varieties of dyewoods which produced dyes of different shades, so that the colors had to be carefully matched. The logs of this dyewood were ground in Europe and then left to ferment. The color was then ready for use. Besides the different varieties of woods used for dyes others were undoubtedly exported to France particularly for furniture and parquetry.

⁷ Damião de Góis devotes a chapter in his *Chronica do . . . Rei D. Manoel . . .*, third edition, Lisbon, 1749, Part I, Ch. 56, 69-73, to a description of Brazil. He there states that in 1513 George Lopez Bixorda "had the trade of the brazil wood which they bring from this land of Santa Cruz." The author then goes on to describe a meeting of the king and Bixorda, who had with him three natives of Brazil, during which His Majesty had a talk with them by means of an interpreter regarding their life there.

⁸ This was undertaken by Bartolomeo Marchioni, Benedito Morelli, his nephew, Fernão de Loronha, and Francisco Martins. It left Lisbon on February 22, 1511, and after a delay along the African coast for a supply of fish reached Brazil near the river São Francisco. A stop was then made at Bahia, where some supplies were stolen, and it came to anchor at Cape Frio, the destination, on October 26. A complete account exists as given by the *escrivão* of the voyage who includes the instructions, a tally of the cargo of dyewood loaded, a list of the parrots, monkeys, and other pets obtained by the crew as well as thirty-five slaves to be taken back to Lisbon, and a great deal of information regarding the method employed

Trade was through barter, and the Indians willingly exchanged their products for trinkets, iron implements for cutting the dense dyewood logs, fishhooks, chickens, and wearing apparel to replace the feather decorations, which were secured with considerable effort, and other articles which appealed to their simple tastes. Their own commodities were either carried to their destination or loaded on their boats and rafts from along the shore, from the rivers leading to the coast or, as was the case at Cape Frio, from back waters connected by portages. Most of this labor was thus voluntary and it was not to become compulsory until the demands for barter became so excessive that slavery seemed to become necessary. Though a few Indians were carried to Europe with the trading ships, true slavery was first introduced by the Indians themselves by compelling the more backward tribes, with whom they had been in constant warfare, to work for them rather than to submit to their cannibalistic ceremonies, and forays were made to secure them. But slaves and convicts necessitated supervision and it was not until the establishment of sugar plantations that either could be effectively employed. Negro slaves had not been introduced to any extent in Brazil during the period of the dyewood trade though a few were brought on the ships as servants. Their introduction coincided with the production of sugar because they were found to have greater endurance, to be more easy to control and they could be kept separated from the Indians who had more ready means of escape.

The life of the Portuguese traders and artisans who remained in Brazil was a frontier culture. They collected the cargoes, associated with the natives, living much as they did, and they had little to look forward to except the coming of the cargo ships from home. Some deserted their comrades to live as men of authority with the Indians. We have a record of a few of these who later were of assistance to their countrymen. Notable were João Ramalho,⁹ who settled inland from São

in this trade. The factor had assembled some 5,000 logs of brazilwood which were loaded during the time the vessel remained. While the objects used for barter are not mentioned, the regulations strictly forbade exchange with the Indians for tools provided them for cutting logs. The complete document is given in *Colonização*, II, 343-347, and an excellent summary by A. Marchant, *From Barter to Slavery*, Baltimore, 1942, 34-38.

⁹ A great deal has been written concerning João de Ramalho and the place he occupied in the history of the foundation of São Paulo. Of especial interest are the note by Rodolpho Garcia in Adolfo Varnhagen, *História Geral do Brasil*, third edition, 5 volumes, São Paulo, n. d., I, 115-117, and the articles in Vols. IX and XXIX of *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de São Paulo* and in *Colonização*, *passim*.



Vicente, Diogo Álvares,¹⁰ the "Caramurú" in Bahia, and the so-called "bacharel" of Cananéia. For their protection these Portuguese traders were obliged to side with the Indians in their warfare on other tribes. This was particularly true in conflicts which occurred with the French interlopers. While the Indian tribes along the coast had common language and customs they were usually bitter enemies and their hatred for each other was often greater than that toward the Europeans who were often drawn into their conflicts.¹¹ The two tribes with whom the traders came in contact were the Tupinambás and the Tupiniquins. The former aided the French, who were also engaged in this trade, while the latter helped the Portuguese.

The French had engaged in the dyewood trade at an early period, possibly as early as 1504. The assertion of some French historians that Brazil had been visited by Jean Cousin in 1488 cannot be accepted nor can it be believed that Binot Paulmier de Gonneville's voyage in 1503, as related in a law suit in the middle of the seventeenth century, is authentic. These corsairs from Honfleur and Dieppe were a constant menace not only to the Portuguese traders in Brazil but also to the India ships along the African coast. The Portuguese ambassador at the French court remonstrated in vain and was told that these interlopers did not sail with royal sanction. The French thus secured the valuable woods they needed without paying customs duties in Portugal, and the Norman and Breton towns became increasingly wealthy. Many of the French ships visited Bahia where brazilwood was not plentiful, but it is reasonable to suppose that other fine woods were found for parquetry. In addition

¹⁰ The life of Diogo Alvarez, known as Caramurú, who occupied a position somewhat similar to João Ramalho and Rodrigues in São Vicente is clouded in greater mystery. He seems to have arrived in Bahia about 1510 and given aid to the Portuguese there, but the story of his having gone to Paris with his wife, Paraguazu, where she was christened Catherine, the king and queen acting as godparents, as told in prose and poetry, need not be taken too literally. Cf. Pedro Calmon, *História do Brasil*, 2 volumes, São Paulo, 1939-1941, I, 129-133.

¹¹ During the period when the European traders sought the aid of the Indians, they worked for them voluntarily for bartered goods. The land was still theirs and its products were disposed of by them. With the coming of the colonists there was a different attitude. The Europeans then considered that the land and its products were their property by a donation from the king for which they paid handsomely. The attitude of these newcomers, many of whom were soldiers who had fought in India, was not understood by the natives and resentment was secretly harbored or openly expressed. There is little wonder that there were uprisings and destruction of property by these Indians who had been accustomed to lead a life of freedom without restrictions. These problems are well analyzed in Marchant, *Barter to Slavery*.

to these French corsairs, ships of other nations came occasionally to the Brazilian coast.

An event which occurred in the East in 1511 again brought Brazil to the direct attention of Europe. During the decade which followed the voyage of Cabral the Portuguese had been consolidating their gains in the Indian Ocean. Francisco de Almeida in 1505 had enunciated a policy of control of the Indian seas rather than the conquest of its shores. He was soon followed by Afonso de Albuquerque who endeavored to close all access except by the route around the Cape of Good Hope. The Red Sea was placed under Portuguese control, Ormuz at the entrance to the Persian Gulf was taken, and finally Malacca on the Malay Peninsula was captured in 1511. Malacca was the emporium of Eastern trade, for here were collected the porcelains and silks from China, the cloves and nutmegs and other spices from the Moluccas, jewels from Burmah, cinnamon from Ceylon as well as the products of India.

The news of this conquest was spread through Europe and came to the ears of Ferdinand in Spain. It brought to mind the fact that the line of the Treaty of Tordesillas might extend to the opposite side of the globe and that Malacca might be within the Spanish sphere. Juan Díaz de Solís, one of his navigators, even hinted that it might pass through Ceylon. At least some of the Spice Islands were evidently theirs. Access from the West was opposed by the Portuguese as contrary to the Treaty, so why not reach the Indies by a western route by way of America, and Malacca could be but a short way beyond? The coast of Brazil became again of interest and was thus coveted by the Spaniards, as well as by the French, for they sought an opening in its shore to the westward, a strait to Malacca! To find such a waterway, then, Solís sailed along the Brazilian coast and reached the fresh waters of the River Plate in 1516, and there was slain. The rest of his fleet returned by the same route taking on a cargo of brazilwood. In 1519 Magellan also cruised along the Brazilian shore on his successful voyage of discovery, and following him three other voyages sailed to the Philippines by this route. This course was given up later for the shorter one by way of Panama. German merchants at this time handled much of the export trade from Lisbon and Antwerp, and it is not strange that the commerce in dyewoods of Brazil, as well as the finding of a new route to the Indies, in which they had substantial financial investment, should have been of interest

in Augsburg, the headquarters of this German trade. In that city there appeared an undated pamphlet by an anonymous author entitled *Copia der Newen Zeitung auss Presillg Landt*, of which three editions are known. A manuscript copy of a similar text to this, but containing more definite information has recently been discovered. In this the date 1515 is given for the account and the author tells, in a very confused way, of a Portuguese voyage to the Argentine in 1514, hence two years before its discovery by Solís. There is also a letter written by the Spanish ambassador to John III dated December 14, 1531, in which he asks that there be included in the Instructions given to Martim Afonso de Sousa an order that he should not discuss controversial matters regarding this previous discovery, with the Spaniards whom he might find in the River Plate. He further asks that information be furnished regarding a voyage of Nuño Manoel to that region during the reign of King Manuel. The question of the prior discovery by the Portuguese of lands to the south is one which has never been satisfactorily settled. In 1525, Sebastian Cabot, also in the service of Spain, followed the Brazilian shore to the River Plate.

The stories of all these navigators as to the life in Brazil and the Indians found there are similar to those of the traders, as given in Portuguese sources. The stay of many of the Europeans along the coast was probably temporary. Yet even though intercourse with the Indians was not extensive contacts necessitated some means of verbal communication, wherefore it is probable that a *lingua franca* was introduced whose effects on the Portuguese language in Brazil still remain. There are no evidences that the traders brought their families with them. As a result there followed a mixture of the white and Indian and the foundations of the mameluke population which was to aid in the later colonization. There was practically no civil or criminal law, and the traders did much as they wished. Venturesome spirits withdrew from the pale of European civilization, joined Indian tribes and adopted their customs. Outlawry was somewhat limited, however, by the fact that traders in Brazil were still under the jurisdiction of their employers in Lisbon. For those who became settlers in Brazil, there was also little spiritual supervision, as will be explained later. New Christians may have reverted to their Jewish rites and felt free to worship

as they pleased. It has been suggested that some had preferred to join the Indian tribes and live a life of freedom.¹²

Life merely followed the natural course dictated by the exigencies of the place. The chief excitement for the Portuguese settlers and traders was the encounter with Indians and French corsairs. As the forests of dyewood were cut back from the shore and its procurement became more costly, added interest was shown toward the development of sugar plantations. A few attempts were made but these were only temporary experiments. During the reign of King Manuel, which closed in 1521, and during the first ten years of that of John III the trade was almost exclusively in dyewood. This alone was profitable, enough so to make it increasingly evident that if the Brazilian shore was to be preserved to Portugal, she must make a definite effort to hold it.

John III realized this through reports from his ambassador at the French Court.¹³ On February 11, 1526, João de Silveira, who held this office, sent word that a fleet of ten ships was being assembled at French ports, whence they were to proceed to Brazil. A Portuguese armada under the command of Cristovão Jacques consisting of a ship and four caravels was ordered to intercept the French. Ten years previous, in 1516, and again in 1519, voyages had been made to patrol the coast for the same purpose, probably commanded by Pedro Sapico and this same Cristovão Jacques. Now the traders were becoming more and more bold. The chief seat of this trade was in Dieppe where Jean Ango and his son amassed considerable wealth, yet it was also reflected in Rouen, the commercial center of France. In spite of great activity, very little of the French activity is known except as given in the account of Jean Parmentier.¹⁴

¹² Afrânio Peixoto, in *Os judeus na historia do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1936, 10.

¹³ The French also were to make renewed efforts to hold the land which they had begun to feel was theirs and they too were to redouble their efforts to establish in Brazil the *La France Antarctique* of their dreams.

¹⁴ There are almost no documentary records of these voyages except the account of the captain, Jean Parmentier, but it is known that the Angos amassed large fortunes. Bas-reliefs exist in the church of St. Jacques at Dieppe and in Rouen showing the methods used in collecting dyewood in Brazil. So proud were the Normans of their trade in Brazil that in Rouen a special performance in a fête was given in 1550 for the benefit of Henry II and Catherine de Medici. Here the native life in Brazil was displayed by fifty Indians and by nearly two hundred fifty Norman sailors who were dressed to imitate them. Cf. Marchant, 29, note 12, 42, note 66; Ferdinand Denis, *Une fête Brésilienne célébrée à Rouen en 1550*, Paris, 1851.

What is known of the early English voyages to Brazil is to be found in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and*

The expedition of Cristovão Jacques in 1526 followed the coast to the River Plate and then returned northward.¹⁵ The ship was then laden with dyewood and returned to Portugal. The caravels, far more useful as coast guard ships, remained. These encountered a French fleet consisting of three ships in Bahia, which they destroyed and took some 300 of those on board as prisoners. The news of this attack caused great resentment at the French court but a settlement was arranged by King John. This incident, however, did not deter the French from continuing to endeavor to establish themselves in Brazil. The French claimed the freedom of the seas in the South Atlantic while Portugal insisted on its monopoly. To maintain this monopoly force was necessary. Yet Portugal did not wish to enforce its claims with France by war in Europe, so any infringement of what the Portuguese believed were their rights in Brazil must be defended there. In December 1531, another French ship, *La Pelerine*, left Marseilles with the license of Francis I, carrying eighteen guns, soldiers, and equipment for the construction of a fort and settlement near Pernambuco. Here the Portuguese were defeated. The Frenchmen, returning to France with a full cargo, were captured by the Portuguese and taken to Lisbon. There is a record of the trial which was then held giving information of interest regarding the factory which had existed in Pernambuco.¹⁶

Discoveries of the English Nation, Glasgow, 1903-1905, with supplementary documents in John William Blake, *Europeans in West Africa, 1540-1560*, Hakluyt Society, Second Series, LXXXVI, 1941-1942, and in the works of James A. Williamson. The maritime relations between the English and French at this period were friendly and in their voyages to Brazil the English copied their neighbors. William Hawkins, the Elder, made a voyage to Guinea and from there to Brazil in 1530 and repeated this voyage in 1531 and 1532. There are indications that he also made similar voyages in 1536 and 1540. In all of these he sailed from Plymouth in the *Paul*, a ship of 250 tons. There is a record of the cargo carried on the voyage which left Plymouth February 24, 1540. This consisted of 940 hatchets, 940 combs, 375 knives, copper lead, and 19 dozen nightcaps. On its return on October 20, of the same year, the cargo consisted of 92 tons of brazilwood and a dozen elephant's "teeth." The cargo taken from Brazil was similar to that from Guinea as indicated in the voyage to Brazil made by an Anglo French syndicate which sailed from Dieppe in 1539 for Brazil in the *Saviour* and *Wolfe*. Swords, daggers, axes, knives, combs, glasses, fish hooks, sheets, caps, and pieces of iron were then taken to exchange for brazilwood. A similar voyage was made to Brazil in 1540 which sailed from Brazil with a French pilot. When the demand for African slaves arose in Brazil the triangular trade by way of Africa continued. Cargoes of goods for barter were then taken from Europe to Africa, with slaves to Brazil and then dyewood taken back to the home port.

¹⁵ An account of the expedition by Antonio Baião and C. Malheiro Dias is given in *Colonização*, III, Ch. 2, 59-94.

¹⁶ Greenlee, *Voyages of Cabral*, lxvi-lxvii; Marchant, 38-39, n. 55; Jordão de Freitas, "O descobrimento pre-Colombino da América Austral pelos

To review the situation in Portugal, it must be remembered that in the time of King Manuel, the Brazilian trade was to a large extent lost sight of by the Portuguese because of the greater wealth which was flowing to Lisbon from the East. The Court of Manuel became one of the most ostentatious in Europe in contrast with the austerity of that of his predecessor. When John III ascended the throne in 1521, conditions had changed. The needs for spices and drugs in Europe were better satisfied, prices had greatly lowered, and increasing expenses in India and the necessary costs involved in keeping peace with the natives and security for the factories there became serious. John III was very religious and became more and more sympathetic with a group of reformers in the college of Santa Barbara, one of fifty such institutions which were collectively known as the University of Paris. This college was presided over by Dr. Diogo de Gouveia, an outstanding scholar and humanist. Under his sympathetic guidance were some of the organizers of the Society of Jesus, Ignatius of Loyola, Simão Rodrigues, the founder of the Jesuit province in Portugal, and Francis Xavier, the great missionary to India, and others.¹⁷

Gouveia himself was interested in the affairs of Portugal partly because of his friendship with John III who had given financial assistance to some of his students. The great importance of Diogo de Gouveia in the history of Brazil is well described by Pedro Calmon when he states: "Two merits particularly connect him with the colonization of Brazil; the insistence on its division into captaincies, so that it might be populated immediately without greater expense to the State, and the decided protection which he gave to the Society of Jesus in its initial phase."¹⁸ Under these influences John III turned his serious attention toward the Portuguese possessions in the West and developed a policy for the substitution of permanent colonizations in Brazil for the occasional visits of traders. He also remembered the advice of Gouveia to obtain the aid of vigorous young Jesuits. The time was opportune, since, through the conferences between the Portuguese and Spanish cosmographers, the line of demarcation of 1494 through Brazil was fairly well defined, and, as shown on the 1529 map of Diego Ribero the line, as evidently agreed on, ran through Cape Orange on the

Portugueses, *A Fortaleza e a Feitoria de Pernambuco*," *Lusitania*, Fascículo IX (1926), 315-327.

¹⁷ Calmon, *História*, I, 112-115.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 113.

north to the old Cape of Santa Maria just north of the entrance to the Río de la Plata. Captaincies could thus be assigned to cover all of the coast of Brazil.

To carry out his plans in Brazil, John III chose a personal friend with whom he had been associated from earliest youth, and one whom, though young, he had made a member of his Council. This was Martim Afonso de Sousa, who was of high lineages and brilliant attainments. Though but twenty-nine years of age Sousa was granted extraordinary powers. Not only was he chief captain of the fleet and governor of the colony which he was to take with him but he was also to have supreme authority over those whom he found in Brazil. He was to have control as well of any land he might discover. His power was both civil and criminal, even to the extreme of condemning to death without appeal. The naming of justices, the disposition of land, and decision of all matters relating to the activities of the colonists were in his charge.

On December 3, 1530, Martim Afonso de Sousa left Lisbon in command of a fleet equipped both for warfare and for transport. This was composed of two ships, the flagship of 150 tons, another ship of 125 tons, a galleon of the same tonnage, and two smaller caravels. Four hundred men went with the fleet, among them overseers and mechanics as well as those who were to set up civil government and attempt to establish some semblance of European civilization. As captain of one of the ships went Pero Lopes de Sousa, a brother of the governor. To him we are indebted for a diary of the voyage of the expedition along the coast and for information regarding what was accomplished.¹⁹

The first point on the Brazilian shore which was reached was Cape St. Augustine where two French ships were captured. The fleet then divided and another French ship was taken by Pero Lopes de Sousa. One of these captives was sent to Portugal under the command of João de Sousa, carrying prisoners and letters to King John, the other two were added to the fleet. Then two Portuguese caravels were sent to explore as far as the Maranhão. There was also added a Portuguese caravel laden with slaves which came from Sofala. These were unloaded and the vessel commandeered. The fleet stopped at Bahia and then spent three months at Rio de Janeiro where two brigantines

¹⁹ *Diário da Navegação de Pero Lopes de Sousa, 1530-1532*, edited by Eugenio de Castro, Rio de Janeiro, 1927.

were built and the colonists had an opportunity to rest and secure supplies. Continuing southward toward the mouth of the Río de la Plata, the fleet encountered a storm. The flagship was wrecked. The main fleet, with the colonists, went no further, but Pero Lopes, with a brigantine entered the river and ascended a short distance up the Uruguay and the Paraná rivers. Probably the leader did not wish the main fleet to sail within the Spanish sphere, and the expedition of Pero Lopes was sent, therefore, to verify their determination of the line of demarcation. Satisfied that Portugal could lay no claim to the region, the idea of establishing a colony there was abandoned. The fleet then turned northward, stopping at Cananéa, where an expedition of eighty men was sent to the interior in search of precious metals.²⁰ The main fleet finally cast anchor, January 22, 1532, in the port of São Vicente which had been visited previously both by the Portuguese and the Spanish.

Here Martim Afonso de Sousa began at once to establish a settlement, as he had planned to do if the location at the site farther south did not seem advisable. Pero Lopes de Sousa left for Lisbon in May. Land was cleared for sugar plantations, sugar mills were erected, and a town was laid out which, from the descriptions and illustrations of Hans Staden of nearly twenty years later, must have been extremely primitive.²¹ In this great assistance was given by two Portuguese, Antonio Rodrigues and the notorious João Ramalho, whose many years' experience in Brazil and esteem among the Indians were great aids. Ramalho conducted Martim Afonso to the highlands to the west of São Vicente, where they visited the Indian village Piratininga, the present site of the city of São Paulo and the place chosen twenty years later by Nóbrega for the location of the Jesuit college of that name. This excursion was a courtesy visit in return for one made to São Vicente by the Indian father-in-law of Ramalho, who had visited the Portuguese upon their arrival.

The boundaries of the new settlement with its adjacent territory were not definitely established before the fleet left Lisbon. João de Sousa, who had gone back to Portugal in the captured French ship to bear letters from Martim Afonso to the king,

²⁰ Just before his departure from Brazil Martim Afonso de Sousa learned that the whole expedition had been killed by the Indians. Cf. Basílio de Magalhães, *Expansão Geográfica do Brasil Colonial*, São Paulo, 1935, 25-27.

²¹ Hans Staden, *The True History of His Captivity, 1557*, translated and edited by Malcolm Letts, New York, 1929, 57-64.

returned to Brazil with a royal letter dated September 28, 1532, in which the king tells of his desire to establish captaincies along the coast each of 50 leagues, a matter which he would discuss with him on his return.²² He tells Martim Afonso, "his friend," that when the captaincies are established, the best locations, as selected by the pilots, are to be reserved for him and his brother, Martim Afonso to receive 100 leagues along the shore and his brother 50 leagues. The king also infers in this letter that Duarte Coelho is to be given preferential treatment in the granting of a captaincy at Pernambuco because of his services in India. The official donation of the captaincy of São Vicente, however, was not executed until October 6, 1534. By this time Martim Afonso already had returned to Portugal and gone to India. The cost of the exploratory expedition was evidently defrayed by the Crown, for Martim Afonso had not at that time enough wealth for it. He later obtained his fortune in India. After the donation had been made, the burden of expense of the settlement was transferred to the *donatário*.

Martim Afonso left Brazil for Lisbon in April or May of 1533. He delegated his full powers over the colony to Gonçalo Monteiro. He arrived in Lisbon some time during the first two weeks of August, where he remained until March 1, 1534, the date when he sailed to India.²³ During these seven months the plans for the establishment of the captaincies along the Brazilian coast were maturing and Martim Afonso was able to take an active part in their formation. For the institution of a captaincy two documents were necessary, the *Carta de doação* and the *foral*. The former pertained to the donation of the land by the king and concerns all matters relating to its government, the rights of the *donatário* and the people. The latter, which supplements it, concerns the revenues to the king and other taxes.

The letters of donation and the *forais* of several of the captaincies have been preserved.²⁴ These documents follow the usual feudal precedents in formula and were obviously based on those provided for the donation of the captaincies previously made in the Atlantic Islands. The laws were made more liberal, however, than those of Portugal in several respects, particularly in regard to inheritance. The omission of the *Lei Mental*, which

²² Reproduced in *Colonização*, III, 160-161.

²³ Cf. Varnhagen, *História*, third edition, I, 167, note 10.

²⁴ Some of these are published in *extenso* in *Colonização*, III, 309-313; also in *Documentos Históricos*, XIII, Bibliotheca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1929.

prevented female succession, was one of the special concessions. The *donatário* could designate his successor without any interference from the Crown. The captain or governor, as he was to be called, could be removed from office for specific reasons mentioned, such as personal misconduct, but under such circumstances the person whom he had appointed as his successor took office. In the case of treason to the king, however, there was an exception, for then the captaincy reverted to the Crown. In general the *donatário* was unrestricted in the appointment of officials to serve under him including those in charge of the administration of the courts, both civil and criminal. Taxes were prescribed in many cases and a tenth was to go into the Royal Treasury and to the Order of Christ. The sovereign, however, retained the monopoly of the trade in dyewood and slaves; the sugar industry was considered a private enterprise.

The division of Brazil into captaincies did not at first include the coast to the north and west of Pernambuco, although this had been explored by Diogo Leite in 1531. All donations made during the first year were to the south of this. The first captaincy to be established was that of Duarte Coelho at Pernambuco,²⁵ granted by a *carta de doação*, dated March 10, 1534, the *foral*, dated September 24 of the same year.²⁶ By grant of April 5, 1534, the second captaincy, Bahia, was donated to Francisco Pereira Coutinho. In rapid succession Porto Seguro was given to Pedro do Campo Tourinho, May 27, 1534, Espírito Santo to Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, June 1, 1534, Itamaracá, Santo Amaro, and Sant' Ana to Pero Lopes de Sousa in September 1534, and São Vicente and Rio de Janeiro to Martim Afonso de Sousa on October 6, 1534. In the spring of the next year Ilhéus was granted to Jorge de Figueiredo Correia, in April, and during 1535, the four *donatários*, João de Barros (March 11, 1535), Ayres da Cunha (March 11, 1535), Francesco Alvares de Andrade (March 11, 1535), and Antonio Cardoso de Barros (November 1535), were assigned lands to the north of Pernambuco. The latest assignment was that of Paraíba do Sul to Pero de Góis on January 28, 1536.

²⁵ As a matter of fact, Fernão de Loronha had been granted the captaincy of the island bearing his name, although then called São João, on January 16, 1504. This was actually the first captaincy granted in Brazil. It was confirmed in 1522 and again in 1559. (*Alguns documentos do Archivo Nat. da Torre de Tombo*, Lisbon, 1892, 459-460; J. F. de Almeida Prado, *Pernambuco e as Capitanias do Norte do Brasil, 1530-1560*, 2 volumes, São Paulo, 1939-1941, II, 106.) A similar donation was made to Belchior Comacho on the Island of Trinidad on August 22, 1539.

²⁶ *Documentos Historicos*, loc. cit., 68-90.

The grant of Pernambuco made to Duarte Coelho was the most successful of any of the captaincies.²⁷ Coelho belonged to one of the oldest families of Portugal. He was the son of Gonçalo Coelho, the commander of the third voyage to Brazil and a relative of Nicoláu Coelho who took a prominent place in the voyage of da Gama and Cabral. The excellence of the harbor from which the name of the captaincy was derived, and the fact that this port was the one nearest to Europe made Pernambuco the favorite stopping place for ships on the way to and from Brazil. Dyewood of good quality grew in its vicinity and the open spaces in the forest were well adapted for plantations. The early history is somewhat clouded but it seems to have been one of the earliest settlements along the coast; and certainly plantations were there since 1526. A Portuguese factory, which the French destroyed in 1531, was located here, but Pernambuco was again in Portuguese hands when recaptured by Martim Afonso de Sousa soon after. With a well selected group of colonists, both married and single, Duarte Coelho reconstructed the fortifications, built the town of Olinda, and developed plantations for sugar cane. The captaincy of Pernambuco extended to the northern limits of Bahia which was just beyond the mouth of Rio São Francisco.

Bahia was given to Francisco Pereira Coutinho, who had been a soldier in India, and who accepted the captaincy because it appeared to have exceptional opportunity for colonization.²⁸ Bahia had been visited by both Portuguese and French traders since 1501. When the colonists arrived in December 1536, the seat of government was placed at the village, probably the present Villa Velha, occupied by Diogo Álvares, who had been there since about 1510 and had gathered around him his mamluke offspring, a band of Indians, and a few whites. Here a fortress was built for the colonists, some of whom had brought their families.²⁹ After remaining for seven or eight years, suffering from hunger, sickness, and much misfortune, many of those who remained were killed by the Tupinambás. Coutinho and a few others retired to Ilhéus and Porto Seguro but returned in about a year to Bahia, only to be cruelly massacred and devoured by the Indians on the Island of Itaparicá. Diogo Álvares, however, escaped.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Colonização*, III, 248-252.

²⁹ According to Gabriel Soares de Sousa, *Tratado Descritivo do Brasil em 1587*, edited by Adolfo Varnhagen, third edition, São Paulo, 1938, 51.

The captaincy of Porto Seguro was assigned to a somewhat different type of person from the other *donatários*. Pero do Campo Tourinho came from the coast town of Viana in northern Portugal, bringing with him his family and friends, who, also bringing their relatives, emigrated to Brazil to make permanent homes there. They were fishing people accustomed to and capable of hard work and hardships. Gabriel Soares de Sousa, who gives the best résumé of the history of this captaincy,³⁰ says that Campo Tourinho was "a noble man, forceful, prudent, and much versed in the art of war." He sold all of his property in Portugal and embarked in two ships and two caravels. A village was established at Porto Seguro, a location but a few miles to the south of the port so named by Cabral. The people engaged in fishing and in cultivation of sugar cane. At first, trouble was experienced with the Tupiniquins, but later, peaceful relations were established. Internal dissension and demoralization existed and Pero Campo Tourinho, the victim of a conspiracy, was denounced to the Inquisition in Lisbon in 1543. Three years later, reduced to poverty, he returned to Portugal in irons.³¹

Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, the *donatário* of Espírito Santo, was a valiant soldier who had fought with Afonso de Albuquerque in India. He sold his property and went to Brazil with seventy men and supplies. He was generous, prodigal, and a brave soldier, but Brazil was not India. Fire devastated his forests and his houses were demolished by Indian depredations. He finally took refuge on the Island of Santo Antonio where he founded a second village. He still resided there in 1549, grown old in poverty and aided by the generosity of Duarte Coelho and other friends.³²

The four southern captaincies belonged to the Sousas.³³ Martim Afonso held two, those of Rio de Janeiro and São Vicente, and Pero Lopes, Santo Amaro and Sant' Ana. Because Pero Lopes returned almost immediately to Lisbon his captaincy of Santo Amaro which was adjacent to that of São Vicente was merged with that province and they had a common history. The captaincy of Sant' Ana south of Cananéa was abandoned. Pero Lopes never visited his northern donation, Itamaracá. This captaincy survived because of its forest of

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 66-68.

³¹ The lengthy record of this trial is given in *Colonização*, III, 271-283.

³² *Ibid.*, III, 241-243.

³³ *Ibid.*, III, 223-237.

dyewood and because of the existence of the village of Iguaçu on the mainland and the fort on the island of Itamaracá, both of which were near Pernambuco. It was subject to attacks by the French and to Indian uprisings. Under João Gonçalves, whom Lopes de Sousa left in charge, some development was shown, but the captaincy could not be said to have been colonized. The captaincy increased in importance, however, later under the general government. In the time of Miguel Álvares de Paiva the colony prospered. It was under this captain that there occurred a war at Iguaçu in 1548, an account of which is given by Hans Staden in his first voyage to Brazil.³⁴ Martim Afonso de Sousa, as has been said, left his captaincy at São Vicente in charge of Gonçalo Monteiro upon whom he conferred all powers which could be delegated. The latter was assisted by Pero de Góis and Rui Pinto. Monteiro's office lasted for a period of three years and in 1538 it was turned over to Antonio de Oliveira. Oliveira was successful in carrying on the government of the colony until it was transferred to Christovão de Aguiar de Oltero in December 1543. Brás Cubas replaced him before the termination of his three years and he held this until the establishment of the general government at Bahia. Some of the colonists, disillusioned, had returned to Portugal, with Martim Afonso. Other colonists came, however, to replace them, and it would have been difficult to distinguish between these and the original settlers. Further lands were cleared and the sugar production increased. With each new shipment of colonists, more domestic animals, especially oxen, were sent and seed was brought in to distribute among the colonists. São Vicente might have fared well if there had not been the double conflict of hostile Indians and unfriendly French and other corsairs.

Although Martim Afonso's grant to the north included the Bay of Rio de Janeiro this region seems not to have been occupied at this time, although it was undoubtedly visited by both French and Portuguese. This may be accounted for by the fact that there was no brazilwood in the adjacent lands, though it was plentiful near Cape Frio to the north. Another reason was this: that sugar plantations, if started there, could not be as well protected as near the populous center farther south, where a group of villages including São Vicente, Santo Amaro, and Santos were developing.

Jorge de Figueiredo Correia was assigned the captaincy of

³⁴ Hans Staden, *True History*, 33-44.

Ilhéus. This *donatário* did not go to Brazil, rather he sent Francisco Romero, a Castilian in his place. Romero decided to build the seat of the captaincy on an island, excellently located both for military and commercial purposes. The captaincy prospered for a time but was finally abandoned because of the destruction of the plantations and *engenhos* by the natives.

The fate of the four captaincies to the north lay in the hands of a substitute captain. João de Barros, the celebrated historian of the Portuguese in India and author of other literary works, was unable to visit Brazil because of his duties as Factor of the India House. Fernando Álvares, as Treasurer of the Kingdom, was in the same position and turned over the colonization, with Barros, to Ayres da Cunha. A fleet was assembled of some ten ships, the largest sent by any of the *donatários*. With it went the two sons of João de Barros and a confidential agent of Fernando Álvares. Because of the brilliant exploits of the Spanish conquistadores and their rewards of silver and gold, the belief that Peru might be reached from the East encouraged the *donatários* to furnish 100 of the 900 men, who went with the fleet, bringing horses for journeys inland. The fleet reached Pernambuco and after encounters with the Indians continued to the Maranhão which was reached in March 1536. Here the unhappy colonists who at first lived at peace with the natives later suffered from their hostilities and were driven almost to starvation. Ayres da Cunha died. Many of the others escaped to the West Indies, while some may have returned to Portugal. João de Barros was ruined financially for the rest of his life even in spite of the generous gifts of the king. There is no record of the occupation of the portion of Ceará to which Antonio Cardoso de Barros was entitled, though ruins have been found indicating some sort of occupation which may have been made at this time. Antonio Cardoso de Barros had received instructions from the king December 17, 1548, to proceed to Brazil as *Provedor môr* of his Fazenda and to put everything which had to do with the king's tribute in order.³⁵

The last captaincy to be assigned was Paraíba do Sul, which was given to Pero de Góis. This *donatário* came with his two brothers to Brazil with little capital and for a time assisted at São Vicente after the departure of Martim Afonso de Sousa. He liked the country and worked hard. Sugar cane was planted but success was impossible because of the rebellion of the

³⁵ *Colonização*, III, 252-256.

Indians, incited by a Portuguese coast pirate Henrique Luís. Góis retired to Espírito Santo and then, ruined, returned to Portugal, leaving in his place Jorge Martins. He came again to Brazil in command of one of the ships in the fleet which brought Thomé de Sousa, the first governor general, and was one of the officials of the new government, *capitão môr da costa*, the officer charged with maritime defense.

As has been shown, although the division of the Brazilian coast into separate captaincies seemed feasible at the time, many practical obstacles interfered which made this system almost a failure except in Pernambuco. Nevertheless, in this decade and a half, a large group of colonists had settled along the shore and inland, and the initial stage of colonization had been gone through. Years more of hardship for the Portuguese in this remote land, more conflicts with native tribes and with intruding French, were to follow until they became strong enough to dominate. The coming of the colonists had wrought many changes. Some colonists undoubtedly returned to Portugal, but those who stayed gradually developed villages with buildings of "stone and lime." At the end of the period of the captaincies, therefore, there were communities permanently established with some degree of order, and the profits derived from the sugar plantations were beginning to be evidenced, particularly at Pernambuco and São Vicente. The colonists came primarily to secure wealth as quickly as possible so more often than not there was a general disrespect for law and order. Many of the colonists left their homes in Portugal or Madeira to be disappointed and financially ruined, but those who followed learned from their experiences and profited by them.

During the first half century of Brazilian history the whole coast line had been carefully explored and mapped. Its resources both in flora and fauna had been studied but no minerals of value had been found. The colonists had brought with them seeds for grains and vegetables, and domestic animals for food to vary the diet of fish which was abundant along the shore. Bananas, sugar cane, rice, coffee, watermelons, and onions were introduced by the whites.³⁶ Sugar cane was not the only exportable crop cultivated, for they found that tobacco and cotton could also be raised. European fruits were included in their fare. The colonists were therefore by their own efforts self-

³⁶ Cf. Greenlee, *Voyage of Cabral*, 29, note 1.

sustaining, though manufactured goods must still come from Portugal.

The period of the independent captaincies actually lasted but a little more than ten years, yet it was the rude foundation on which a nation was to be built. A generation was growing up, both mameluke and white, from which those who followed learned how to live in this new land.³⁷ The introduction of convicts, because these could be readily secured when colonists were not to be found, added an element of great difficulty, however. The misfortunes in many of the captaincies and the lack of success of the system of separate holdings was soon known in Portugal and became a source of much concern. Letters were sent to the king warning him of impending disaster. On April 29, 1546, Pero de Góis wrote predicting that some parts of Brazil might be lost in two years.³⁸ Pero do Campo Tourinho on June 28 of the same year wrote that Bahia was becoming depopulated because of the Indians and that a year previous some colonists had come to his captaincy and were making no attempt to return to Bahia.³⁹ From Santos, in the captaincy of Martim Afonso de Sousa, Luís de Góis wrote to the king, May 12, 1548, that if he did not come to the aid of the captaincies his land of Brazil would be lost.⁴⁰ In some of the captaincies a state of insubordination existed. This expressed itself in revolts against the *donatários*. Distance from the king's authority fostered dissensions. Francisco Pereira Coutinho was arrested under a false order of the king; Campos Tourinho was accused by the principal inhabitants of heresy or blasphemy, which resulted in the loss of his captaincy. In Ilhéus the lieutenant of the *donatário* was also arrested by the colonists, and the one whom Thomé de Sousa found in charge was turned over as a New Christian to the Holy Office in Lisbon.

In spite of the unfortunate experiences of many of the colonists who went to Brazil it was still considered a land of promise to many in Portugal. There also had been a considerable investment in that country which could not be abandoned. It became increasingly evident that the captaincies, which were widely separated from one another along the long coast line, required better protection at sea, from foreign traders, on land,

³⁷ Cf. Pedro Calmon, *Historia Social do Brasil*, 3 volumes, São Paulo, 1940, I, 153-168.

³⁸ *Colonização*, III, 334.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

from the attacks of the Indians. It was therefore decided that a centralized government must be established in Brazil for the protection of its territory in the New World and for its future development.

Plans were immediately made to this end. The office of governor general was established as the supreme authority over all the captaincies, except that of Pernambuco, and through the governor general the rule was more directly by the Crown. This portion was first given to Thomé de Sousa, a cousin of Martim Afonso and Pero Lopes de Sousa and also a personal friend of the king. On December 17, 1548, three exhaustive *Regimentos* were signed by the king, one addressed to Thomé de Sousa reciting his duties as governor general of Brazil, another to Antonio Cardoso de Barros who was to be *Provedor mór* of the royal *Fazenda*, and the third directed to the *provedores* of the captaincies.⁴¹ The *Regimento* for the governor, the most important of the three, gave explicit instructions for the reestablishment of the captaincy of Bahia as well as for the conduct of the whole colony and was a much more complex document than the *cartas de doação*. Almost complete liberty had been given to the captains within their own donations, so that governments had grown up in each captaincy at the dictates of the *donatário* or his agent. The appointment of a governor general did not destroy these governments as they had been set up in the respective donations, and his instructions and his activities had to be adapted to the conditions as they existed. The Crown took over more of the responsibilities in the establishment of the office and met much of the expense of protection and administration, although in the end the colonists paid for all of this outlay by means of taxation. Bahia, or more properly São Salvador de Bahia de Todos os Santos, was chosen for the seat of the royal government because it was centrally located and independent. Bahia was also frequented by the French traders so that a strong fortress at this location might help the Portuguese to drive them from the coast. John III had distributed the whole of the Brazilian shore to *donatários* leaving no location belonging to the Crown. At Bahia the captaincy had been a definite failure so all rights of the *donatário* were purchased by the king at a small sum. Bahia was to be not only the administrative

⁴¹ These are given in *extenso* in *Colonização*, III, 345-359. A résumé of the *Regimento* of Thomé de Sousa in English translation, by Ruth L. Butler, may be found in *MID-AMERICA*, XXIV (October 1942), 236-242.

capital of Brazil but was to become later the See of the church in the new colony.⁴²

An important factor of the new government and one not to be overlooked was the coming of the Jesuits with the governor general in 1549. The Order was still in its infancy though already accomplishing important missions. With the little group of students at the college of Santa Barbara, in Paris, St. Ignatius Loyola had founded in 1540 the religious order of the Society of Jesus.⁴³ The following year Francis Xavier was one of the seven persons who took the original Jesuit vows on August 15, 1534, and sailed for India in the fleet of Martim Afonso de Sousa when he went there as viceroy in 1541. The reports of the wonderful missionary work accomplished by the "Apostle to the Indies" in the Portuguese world in the East must have reached the king while he was considering the formation of the new colony in Brazil. He remembered the advice of Gouveia of twenty years earlier to foster the growth of the new Order and resolved to turn their work to his purpose in Brazil. Furthermore, even as early as the Cabral voyage of discovery, Pedro Vaz de Caminha, in his letter to King Manuel in 1500, had said that "the best profit which can be derived from it [Brazil], it seems to me, will be to save this people, and this should be the chief seed which Your Highness should sow there."⁴⁴ This admonition, long delayed, may have been uppermost in the mind of the *Rei Piedoso* when he sent Manuel de Nóbrega with his missionary band to take up their work in the West among the Indian tribes of Brazil.

With respect to religious conditions in Brazil during the first half of the sixteenth century information is indeed scarce. Brazil was definitely classified as a mission area, since there is no trace of any church organization in its customary parochial and diocesan form. Nor is there any indication that the papacy, the Church in Portugal, or the kings, Manuel and John III, hereditary patrons of the Church, made any attempts to set up a formal ecclesiastical structure in the time of the

⁴² At this point warehouses could be established both for export and import and expense saved in the commercial field. Portugal had had the same experience in India, which caused the seat of government, both civil and ecclesiastical, to be established at Goa. This decision was made because of the distance from the mother country necessitating that authority be delegated to local officials. Brazil also was far from Portugal and thus far from central control. See note 56, below.

⁴³ Jerome V. Jacobsen, "Jesuit Founders in Portugal and Brazil," *MID-AMERICA*, XXIV (January 1942), 12-19.

⁴⁴ Greenlee, *Voyage of Cabral*, 33.

donatários. For obvious reasons no formal religious development could be expected in Brazil during the first three decades. John III, ascending the throne in 1521, was confronted by a sufficient number of local and imperial problems.⁴⁵ His attempts to revive the cultural and religious spirit of the kingdom, his zeal for correcting the morals of his people are well known. Checking the intrusion of Protestantism, investigating the conditions among the newly converted Jews, establishing the Inquisition in 1536, and carrying on a serious dispute with the Papacy required much time. To these problems was added that of obtaining missionaries to spread the faith in Africa, India, and China. Consequently Brazilian religious affairs dropped far down the list of agenda, as far as the Portuguese Empire was concerned.

Still, clergymen had gone to Brazil. The first priest to say Mass on Brazilian soil was, as has been stated, the Franciscan, Fray Henrique de Coimbra.⁴⁶ He arrived and departed with the Cabral expedition. How many other chaplains touched the shores cannot be said. Magellan had with him at least one when he coasted along Brazil in late 1519 and early 1520. This was a Father Sánchez, who became involved in the mutiny near the Strait of Magellan and who with Juan de Cartagena was put ashore there as an alternative to being hanged and quartered.⁴⁷ Nobody knows if the pair of "degradados" ever escaped from the cold climate, which occasioned their mutiny, or if they ever reached the warm lands of the north.

After the Cabral expedition clergymen arrived, but when and under what circumstances is not known. Were they castaways? Were they sent from Portugal as undesirables or as degraded? Were they brought with the *donatários*? Some were undoubtedly zealous missionaries. In proof of this, we find that when Thomé de Sousa arrived in Bahia in 1549, there were twenty or thirty Christian Indians, who had been baptized by certain fathers in the far south and carried north as slaves.⁴⁸ The fathers had been sent to this southland as missionaries by King Manuel, hence before 1521. They were, according to Father Leite, Franciscans from Portugal who came to Brazil, but who

⁴⁵ Jacobsen, *loc. cit.*, 11-12.

⁴⁶ Cf. Fernando Pedreira de Castro, *Crônica da Igreja no Brasil, Período Pre-anchietano, 1500-1553*, Rio de Janeiro, 1938, 8-19.

⁴⁷ E. G. Bourne, *Spain in America*, New York, 1904, 124.

⁴⁸ *Cartas Jesuíticas*, I, *Cartas do Brasil, 1549-1560*, Rio de Janeiro, 1931, 81-82, Nóbrega to Simão Rodrigues, 1549.

in spite of their zeal were unable to establish any houses.⁴⁹ They left no vestiges, except baptized Indians. Other Franciscans from Spain made their way across lower Brazil into Paraguay. They too passed on.

The Jesuits, led by Father Nóbrega, arrived as missionaries in 1549. They found no other religious bodies or members but secular priests in the captaincies of Pernambuco, Espírito Santo, and São Vicente.⁵⁰ These clerics were in no wise interested in missionary activities, having nothing to do with the Indians, mamelukes, or slaves. Each lived as an individual, and under no ecclesiastical jurisdiction. No mention is made of any cleric brought on Thomé de Sousa's armada. These were evidently exiled from some diocese of Portugal. As for any physical signs of religion, all Nóbrega could find was a "kind of church" in the old city.⁵¹

The disorganized condition of the clergymen in Brazil and their utter laxity struck Nóbrega as needful of immediate and drastic action. Each of his letters contained a request for a bishop or at least a vicar apostolic, so that parochial and diocesan organization could be made, and some jurisdiction and responsibility established. The whites could then be taken care of in parishes, while the Jesuits could carry out their intentions of evangelizing the natives. A bishop was needed not only for ecclesiastical discipline but to consecrate oils for baptisms and the extreme unction, for confirming those baptized and for ordaining priests.⁵²

At Pernambuco there were five or six ecclesiastics, characterized as "irregular, apostates and excommunicate."⁵³ Whether they had incurred an irregularity in Portugal or in Brazil is unknown. They may have been sent to the colony simply as "Mass priests," that is, ordained to say Mass but not to hear confessions or perform other functions. They considered neither concubinage, enslavement of natives, nor cannibalism a sin.⁵⁴ In the back country of São Paulo Father Nunes, the Jesuit missionary, reported that he had heard of the presence of ten clerics, living in concubinage, who had not celebrated Mass for

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 98; Serafim Leite, S. J., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, 2 volumes, Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon, 1938, II, 505.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 509.

⁵¹ *Cartas Jesuíticas*, I, 71, Nóbrega to Simão Rodrigues, n. d.

⁵² *Ibid.*, I, 75, 83, 110, 116.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, I, 119, Nóbrega to the Fathers and Brothers, September 13, 1551.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 75, 77, 116, 123; and Leite, II, 509.

three, four, and even ten years.⁵⁵ Evidently, they had long been in the land. Beyond a statement of Father Leite's that clerics were in Espírito Santo, nothing is known of their number or status or relations with Coutinho and his people.

The attempt of John III to establish efficient administration for this colony, to establish ecclesiastical order for the whites, and at the same time to undertake the conversion of the heathen could not have been more auspiciously inaugurated than by the combined and harmonious efforts of Thomé de Sousa and the Jesuits.

On February 1, 1549, the governor general sailed with the largest fleet which had yet gone to Brazil. Six members of the Jesuit Order, headed by Manuel da Nóbrega, accompanied him. Portugal had taken the measure of the Brazilian coast line. There now began the social, economic, and cultural process by which Brazil was soon to become "another Portugal."

W. B. GREENLEE

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⁵⁵ Serafim Leite, *Novas Cartas Jesuíticas*, São Paulo, 1940, 136, Letter of P. Leonardo Nunes to Nóbrega, June 29, 1552.

⁵⁶ Leite, *História*, II, 509. These conditions in Brazil were promptly condemned by Thomé de Sousa and Nóbrega. On February 5, 1551, Pope Julius III erected Brazil to a diocese, the Diocese of Bahia, City of São Salvador. The first bishop, D. Pedro Fernandes Sardinha, arrived on June 22, 1552, bringing with him some diocesan priests, canons, and dignitaries. Ruth L. Butler, "Thomé de Sousa, First Governor General of Brazil," *MID-AMERICA*, XXIV (October 1942), 249. Thus was the Church formally established.

Ahsahwaince, His Hundred Years

The incidents below were related by Ahsahwaince, Chipewewa Indian of the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota. They were incidentally recorded in August 1936, while the present writer was gathering ethnological material for a study of primitive child life, a forthcoming publication of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution. When put together they form a biographical sketch covering the one hundred years of life of Ahsahwaince. The statements of this fine old gentleman were recorded by Jessie Flannagan and interpreted by Ida Roy, his daughter, the Ogemawab of the narrative. Ahsahwaince's recollections offer bits of information for the anthropologist as well as notes for the historian of Catholic history of Minnesota.

The setting of Ahsahwaince's narrative lies in the lake and wooded area of scenic beauty in what is now northcentral Minnesota. Among the thousands of lakes in the area one finds three large magnificent ones in linear position, that is if one travels as the crow flies from St. Paul to the Lake of the Woods on the Canadian boundary. The first of these, Mille Lacs Lake, ninety miles from St. Paul, is a majestic inland sea almost exactly in the center of the state. It has two hundred miles of wooded shore and two hundred five square miles of water surface. Leech Lake, the second one, forty-six miles farther on, has six hundred forty miles of shore, forested and dented with coves and bays and juts of land. After another fifty-six miles Red Lake appears, the largest of Minnesota's lakes and one immortalized by Longfellow. It is in Siamese-twin formation, the lower lake—in size equal to the upper lake—spanning twelve miles from north to south and eighteen miles from east to west. If one travels approximately thirty miles west of Mille Lacs Lake, one finds Crow Wing, the historic mission of Father Pierz and the place of Ahsahwaince's baptism. White Earth village on the White Earth Reservation, the birthplace of Ogemawab and the place of death of Ahsahwaince, lies fifty miles directly west of Leech Lake. Within this trapezium—Mille Lacs Lake, Red Lake, White Earth village, and Crow Wing—a trapezium of loveliness in forests, lakes, and brooks, of invigorating sunshine and bracing air, Ahsahwaince spent his hundred years.

NARRATIVE OF AHSAHWAINCE

I was born on December 15, 1835. My parents belonged to the Pillager Band of the Chippewa tribe.¹ Our *dodaim*² was the loon. My earliest memories go back to the time when I was about five years old. My father one morning rubbed charcoal over my face and led me into a near-by woods. Here he spread a blanket on the ground for me and told me that I must remain there to fast; that during my fast I would learn the course that I was to follow in my future life. At early dawn each morning he brought me a little food and water and I took this before sunrise. This was all the food and drink I received in each twenty-four hours. My fast lasted ten days. At the end of that time, our relatives and neighbors gathered at our wigwam for a feast. At the feast I was asked to relate what I had learnt during my fast. Among other things I told them that I had been advised that I would live to be a *very* old man; that my hair would remain black, even in my old age; that as soon as it turned gray I would know that my time on earth was nearing its end.³

¹ Chippewa is a popular adaptation of Ojibway, "to roast till puckered up," referring to a gathered seam over the toes of moccasins. The Chippewa Indians belong, culturally, to the eastern woodland area of North America, and linguistically to the Algonquian family. The Chippewa were divided into ten or more divisions or bands, each numbering from five to fifty or more families, headed by a chief. Each band occupied a region as its habitat. The Pillager Band to which Ahsahwaince belonged lived on Leech Lake. Families respected each other's rights as to the home place (location of wigwam), plots for gardening, shores for gathering wild rice, maple groves for sugar making, and places for trapping and hunting. All could fish in the lakes of the region. Bands claimed affiliation with either of two large organizations: the Lake Superior Bands or the Mississippi Bands. George Copway, a native, calls them Lake Bands and Interior Bands. In early treaty-making, the United States Government dealt with the Chippewa in these affiliated organizations. Cf. James Mooney and Cyrus Thomas, *Chippewa*, Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE) Bulletin 30, Part I; George Copway, *Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation*, Boston, 1851; Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, Washington, 1903, Vol. II; Sister Inez Hilger, *Chippewa Child Life*, ms., forthcoming publication of BAE, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

² The Chippewa *dodaim* is an intertribal exogamic patrilineal group, a gens, therefore. It is inherited by both sexes. Gentes are designated by animals. The wildcat, bear, eagle, martin, bullhead, kingfisher, crane, loon, lynx, wolf, fish, pickerel, caribou, lion, and bird were gentes of informants who contributed to the present writer's forthcoming publication mentioned above. (Unless otherwise stated footnotes hereinafter are based upon field work among the Chippewa on nine reservations in the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan, from 1932 to 1940.)

³ Fasting and subsequent dreaming by Chippewa boys of prepuberty age was institutional. Its objective was to provide contact with the spiritual world and thereby obtaining a medium in a guardian spirit. The guardian spirit took the form of either a person, an animal, an inanimate object, or an activity of nature. The guardian's prerogatives were to give advice,

About a year after my fast my father was killed by a stray bullet shot by a gambler who was loitering in our village. My mother was now compelled to earn a livelihood for herself, my little brother, and me. In the spring she made maple sugar; during the summer she picked berries; in the fall she gathered wild rice; and in the winter she trapped muskrat, mink, and lynx. Nearly all the year around she fished in our big lake.⁴

When I was about fifteen my mother married again and shortly afterwards I left home. It was impossible for me to endure the cruelty of my stepfather. I never saw my mother again.

Through an acquaintance, Joe Wakefield, by name, a half-breed who was foreman of a lumber company located between Brainerd and Walker, I secured employment for a time. Later I found my way to Crow Wing, an Indian fur trading post. Here I obtained less arduous work in a hotel owned by John George Morrison—also an acquaintance of mine.

How well I remember one summer evening! Some of the men from around there and I sat outside the hotel with a number of men. Along came the man who brought the mail to Crow Wing. He sat down and joined in our conversation. We were all in a jovial mood. He and I began to banter back and forth with the result that I bet him a suit of clothes that I could walk the distance from Crow Wing to Red Lake and back, which trail at that time was about 100 miles, in less time than he could. He accepted the challenge, we set the date, and the trekking started. I knew a shorter route—later I acquainted the mailman of this—and consequently I walked the distance in two

knowledge, and power. Dream experiences are considered very sacred and few Indians will relate them.

⁴Deer and bear meat, fowl, and fish formed the chief foods of the Chippewa. These were boiled with wild rice, wild potatoes, tips of milkweed, tips of fern, blossoms of cultivated pumpkin; with wild berries of various kinds; with cultivated vegetables, especially corn, squash, pumpkin, and beans. Maple was used for sweetening. Surplus of meats and fish were smoked and dried in the heat of a fire, and then stored. Vegetables and berries were dried in sun and air, and also stored. Maple sugar was made from sap of the maple tree. In Minnesota maple sap rises from about March 25 to April 30. During this time Chippewa families—today as in the earlier day—move to maple groves, tap the trees, collect sap, boil, evaporate, and refine it into sugar. Supplies are stored. Wild rice is gathered in August and early September just before it matures. It grows in mud bottoms at short distances from shores of lakes and slow moving creeks and rivers. When collecting it, bunches are held over a canoe and are knocked with a paddle-like stick. This causes the grain to drop. In the early day the grain was dried and ripened either in the sun and wind or on flat rocks over slow fires. Today it is parched in kettles over fire. Husks are loosened by being pounded with a large wooden pestle or more generally—and traditionally—by being trampled under foot. Kernels are winnowed from chaff.

and one-half days less time than he did. But he paid the price of the bet gallantly and I wore the suit of clothes.

It was during the years of my employment at the Crow Wing hotel that I became acquainted with Father Pierz. He invariably traveled on foot through the reservation, carrying his bedding strapped on his back. Frequently he slept in the Indian villages. My admiration for this good priest grew more fervent each time I saw him. The first opportunity I had of speaking to him alone, I told him that I wished to adopt his faith. I remember well how his kindly face lighted with a gentle smile. He clasped my hand and said he would be happy to tell me all I wished to know about his religion. My acquaintances everywhere taunted me about becoming "religious"; but it didn't phase me any for my mind was firmly made up. The priest baptized me on his next visit to our trading post and gave me the name of Joseph.

Off and on for many years the Sioux tribe annoyed the Chippewa by encroaching on our territory.⁵ Finally every Chippewa man was called upon to help drive them westward. We had driven them as far west as Devils Lake, North Dakota, when an order came from the United States Government that all hostilities had to cease; that violators of this command would be compelled to pay the penalty with their own lives. I at once returned to Crow Wing. I was back in the Chippewa country but I was carrying about in my head the image of an attractive maiden whom I had met in North Dakota and I found no contentment until I went out again to find her. She belonged to the Blackfeet tribe,⁶ and lived with her parents at Grand Forks, North Dakota. Her father, a French-Canadian, owned a considerable quantity of land in Canada. Caroline Nadeau—that was her name—and I married in 1874. In 1880 we moved to the White Earth Reservation and that meant our transfer to the Mississippi Band of the Chippewa Indians.

Here I made a living for my family by working for the Benedictine Sisters at the mission school. Father Aloysius, Sister Lioba, and Sister Philomena, three persons who had established the Mission in White Earth, were our most helpful

⁵ In the eighteenth century the Chippewa drove the Fox Indians from northern Wisconsin, the Iroquois from the peninsula between Lake Huron and Lake Erie, and the Sioux to the south of the Minnesota River and west to the Turtle Mountains. The Sioux continuously molested the Chippewa in an attempt to regain their lost territory.

⁶ The Blackfeet Indians belong, culturally, to the plains area Indians of North America; linguistically, to the Algonquian family. Today the Blackfeet occupy the Blackfeet Indian Reservation in Montana just east of Glacier National Park.

friends. We were ever glad to be located near a Catholic church.

I have never forgotten an incident, the shock of which I can't express in words even today. I was working in the hayfield one day when I noticed a group of men coming along in a rather unusual arrangement on the road that led into White Earth village. I went toward them curious to know what their purpose was. To my great astonishment I found five half-breed Indians, two of them mounted on ponies that were pulling a wagon, one sitting in the front part of the wagon driving it, and the other two bringing up the rear. And in the wagon, stripped to his shirt and trousers, bound with rope and tied to the wagon, lay our missionary priest, Father Tomazin! I protested angrily to such treatment of a priest. But they wouldn't heed me. Then I begged of them to set him free. Next I warned them that they would be punished for their malice. But they paid no attention to me. Being of small stature myself, there was no use of attacking them physically. However, I followed them, intending to do what I could for the priest. On reaching the village I learned more about this shameful act.—Later on I discovered that these half-breeds and their followers were under the impression that Father Tomazin was going through the reservation on some political expedition, a thing that might eventually prove detrimental to their own political ambitions. So they captured him.—As soon as they reached the village, the church bell was rung. It was their way of announcing to the neighborhood that they had Father Tomazin in their power. Instantly, on hearing the church bell, Shawbahskung, the grand old medicine man,⁷ a breech-clout Indian⁸ who lived just across the bay on Mission Lake, mounted his pony, galloped into the village, armed with his gun. When he saw what was taking place he dared the crowd to place a hand on the priest, threatening that if they did so, he would shoot down every man that was standing on that spot. The Indians regarded this medicine man with such awe and fear that everyone turned on his heels and fled. Shaw-habskung released the priest and gave him protection in his

⁷ Medicine men and women were members of the Mide wiwin (Grand Medicine), the native religion. Because of the supernatural powers claimed by them and ascribed to them, they were greatly feared. Among these powers, so-called "medicines," they were believed to possess were those of black art. These could be exercised by them either by personal contact, merely by being in the presence of the one to be injured, or by being at a greater or lesser distance from him.

⁸ A breech-clout Indian was one who refused to be influenced by European civilization, breech-clout and leggings being the traditional garment worn by men in place of trousers.

own wigwam until it was safe for him to again proceed on his way. Years later one of the instigators of that attack on Father Tomazin—his house was also located on Mission Lake—was compelled to move away for he was continuously tormented with the hallucination that he could see the captured priest floating on the lake. His chief companion in guilt was found dead on a roadside many years after, no one ever knowing what caused his death.

My wife and I worked happily together. As the seasons of each year arrived, we made maple sugar, fished, picked berries, and gathered wild rice. I supplied our table with wild game. In winter there was plenty trapping not far from our own door. The near-by woods too supplied us with fuel during cold weather. I often meditated on God's great goodness in supplying the Indian with everything he needed for his own use, and all of it so close at hand.

Our life, however, was not free from trials. I lost the sight of my right eye while mending a wire fence: the end of one length suddenly loosened and sprang upward catching my eye and thus injuring the eyeball. Then our children were born to us but seemed permitted to remain with us only a few years. One by one the first ones were taken from us through sickness or accident. Later we reared two sons, and the daughter whom you see sitting near me. She was the first of our children to reach adult age. She came to us in midsummer moon.⁹ We were then living in a wigwam. She was so very precious to us that we named her Ogemawab, which in English means Queen. My wife predicted on the day that Ogemawab was born that if she were spared us, she would make something of herself. And so she did. Father Aloysius baptized her the day after her birth and named her Ida. She was not quite four years old when we placed her in the Benedictine Sisters' boarding school for Indian girls at White Earth. After that she worked in this very hospital (White Earth) until she earned enough money to put herself through a training course for nurses. For years she served the sick as a nurse in Anchor Hospital, St. Paul, where she now is a supervisor.¹⁰ She provided her mother and me with

⁹ Days were counted by nights; nights were not named. Moons (months) and seasons were. Midsummer moon, also called blueberry moon, corresponded to our July. The moon preceding midsummer moon was strawberry moon; the one following, wild-rice-gathering moon. Moons began with new moon. The Chippewa words for the four seasons do not lend themselves to translation.

¹⁰ Ogemawab or Ida Roy (Ahsahwaince's name on the tribal rolls of

food and clothing ever since we were unable to do so ourselves. Her mother passed away eighteen months ago, on the first day of spring, just as the Angelus rang.

If I am spared until the last moon of this year, I shall have reached my one hundred and first birthday. However, my strength is failing and I have been on this earth long enough. And you may notice that my time here on earth is almost spent, for, though my hair is still dark, it is turning gray in places. I shall be happy to be relieved of this feeble old body. I shall gladly go to where my wife is; her companionship brightened my life for sixty-one years. I am just waiting now to go, and I am doing so patiently. The Great Father knows best when to call me. In His goodness He is permitting that I have no physical suffering. Some days I am not conscious of being here; I seem to be in a different environment. I see beautiful lights, beautiful flowers, beautiful things. My weakness is extreme; but what is that? It will be that only for a little while longer. My good daughter will see that my old frame is laid by the side of her mother. And my soul, I know, will find favor with Kice Manitou¹¹ who has cared for me over a century of years. He will guide my Ogemawab aright just as He has guided me. His blessing be upon her. She has supplied me with the necessities of life and is making happy for me the feeble years that are left for me to live.

Thus ends the relation of Ahsahwaince of August 1936. The old man's life fell a month short of one hundred and one years; he died in November 1936.

A few words may now be added regarding the events and persons mentioned as outstanding in his memories of a century.¹²

the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs is Joseph Roy) is a registered nurse. She has served as nurse and as supervisor in Anchor Hospital, St. Paul, Minnesota, since the year of her graduation, twenty years ago. She has been described as a kind, faithful, conscientious, and able nurse; as an alert, understanding, and intelligent supervisor. She is one of the foremost Indian women in the Middle West.

¹¹ Kice Manitou (Great Spirit) in the traditional culture of the Chippewa was a Being far removed from them. He was seldom addressed, directly or alone in prayer, except at the Mide wiwin celebrations held twice a year usually. At this time also offerings were made to Him. Chippewa today call God Kice Manitou.

¹² The items of information for these concluding paragraphs have been taken from the following sources: Archives, Chancery Office of the Diocese of St. Cloud, Minnesota; "Diary of Bishop Cretin," *Acta et Dicta*, St. Paul, Vol. I; Franz Pierz, *Die Indianer in Nord-Amerika*, St. Louis, 1855; Kappler, *Indian Affairs*, I, II (1903), III (1913), IV (1929); James Trobec, Diocese of St. Cloud, in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, New York, 1912, XIII, 342-343; and the following by the present writer: "Chippewa Hunting and Fishing Cus-

French fur traders came to the area long before Ahsahwaince's time. When he was but two years old (1837) his people ceded their first lands to the United States Government. Soon the area was opened to white settlement. Lumberjacks and lumber mills arrived in numbers during his years. Europeans and their descendents lived at the trading posts, in lumber camps, and at lumber mills throughout the region. In 1849 the region was included in the newly organized Minnesota Territory; in 1858, in the newly admitted state of Minnesota. Negotiations and treaties between Chippewa chiefs and headmen on the one hand and the United States Government on the other—many of the treaties involving land cessions—continued from 1785 until the 1890's. Consequent resentment of many Indians broke out on numerous occasions. It culminated in the massacre of 1862, one of the bloodiest recorded in American history. In 1867, when Ahsahwaince was thirty-two, the United States Government set aside a reserve of thirty-six townships as the White Earth Reservation. Other reservations for Chippewa Indians in Minnesota are Red Lake, Leech Lake, Nett Lake, Vermillion Lake, Grand Portage, Fond du Lac, and Mille Lacs.

When Ahsahwaince was born, the region was under the Catholic ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Bishop Mathias Loras of Dubuque, Iowa; in 1850 it passed into the newly organized diocese of St. Paul. In 1851, the year of his installment as first bishop of St. Paul, Joseph Cretin sent Father Franz Pierz, the priest who baptized Ahsahwaince, as sole missionary to all the Chippewa Indians in his diocese and to all the Whites living one hundred miles along the Mississippi River. Father Pierz, a native of Carniola, Austria, had just come from Bishop Baraga's missions among the Lake Superior Chippewa. In 1852 Father Pierz established his first mission in his new assignment at Crow Wing; in 1853, a second one at Mille Lacs.

Father Ignatius Tomazin, zealous defender of Indian rights, loved and revered in the Chippewa country even today, came among the Chippewa following his ordination at St. Paul, Minnesota, on February 5, 1864. The place of his birth, too, was

toms," *Minnesota Conservationist*, April 1936; "In the Early Days of Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Archeologist*, June 1936; "Letters and Documents of Bishop Baraga Extant in the Chippewa Country," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, December 1936; "Some Phases of Chippewa Material Culture," *Anthropos*, Vol. 32, 1937; *Social Survey of One Hundred Fifty Chippewa Indian Families of the White Earth Reservation of Minnesota*, Washington, 1939.

Carniola, Austria; the day of his birth, February 5, 1843. His missionary stations among the Chippewa included Crow Wing, Leech Lake, White Earth, and Red Lake. Father Felix Nelles, Benedictine missionary among the Chippewa of Minnesota for thirty years and now retired at St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota, said to the writer recently (1943): "Father Tomazin was well liked by the Indians. He was continuously defending their rights over those of the United States Government officials. He often pleaded the cause of the Indians. On one occasion when in Washington doing so he was annoyed with the lack of understanding on the part of some senators serving on a Senate committee dealing with Indian affairs and frankly told them that they were a lot of thieves and pie eaters! When back on the reservation it was rumored that government officials had sent word to have Father Tomazin arrested on the charge of causing insubordination on the part of the Indians. The Indians forced Father Tomazin into a canoe and rode him to a lonely island leaving him there without means of returning, but with plenty of food, until the danger of his arrest had passed." He died in Chicago on August 26, 1916, at the age of seventy-three.

The work of the Benedictines among the Chippewa, which has continued to the present time, began in 1878 when Father Aloysius Hermanutz, of St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota, and two Benedictine Sisters, Sister Lioba Braun and Sister Philomena Ketten, of St. Benedict's Convent, St. Joseph, Minnesota, established a school in White Earth. Sister Philomena died at St. Benedict's Convent on June 29, 1928 at the age of seventy-four; Father Aloysius at White Earth on September 7, 1929, at the age of seventy-six. Sister Lioba, now ninety years of age, enfeebled by years of labor and confined to her bed in her convent home, St. Benedict's, is aroused to enthusiasm whenever it is announced to her that Ogemawab has come to visit her. She has lost none of her first love for her Chippewa children.

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An Alleged Spanish *Entrada* into New York

The authenticated presence of Europeans in the territory of the present state of New York west of the Hudson River can be assigned no greater antiquity than the second decade of the seventeenth century. In 1615 Champlain and a handful of Frenchmen accompanied a Huron war party against the Iroquois. This unfortunate enterprise brought him and his French companions into central New York—very probably to what later came to be known as Nichols' Pond, in the town of Fenner, Madison County.¹ Etienne Brulé, dispatched from the Huron Country to enlist the aid of the Andastes against the Iroquois, also traversed a goodly extent of territory in central and western New York in the same year.²

Had the early historians of central New York been content to rest their narratives of initial European exploration of the region with the activities of Champlain and his associates much controversy and not a little romantic speculation would have been avoided. But in a locality so rich in authentic historical background, it was perhaps natural that local patriotism would seek to establish still earlier contacts with the pioneers of New World exploration. Hence we find Verrazano, Cortereal, De Soto, and others of like antiquity, advanced as visitors to the interior country of New York.

Tracing these claims to their sources, we find most of them arising from the efforts made to explain the origin of the so-

¹ The site of this engagement was long a matter of controversy. Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan placed it near Canandaigua Lake, *Documentary History of the State of New York*, III (1850), 10, note 1. Orsamus H. Marshall held for a site on Onondaga Lake, *Magazine of American History*, I (1877), 1-13. General John S. Clark in an address before the New York Historical Society in April 1877 inclined to place it at Nichols' Pond, in Madison County, and in this he was supported by John Gilmory Shea, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, II (1878), 103. There now seems to be no sound reason to doubt the correctness of the Nichols' Pond site, nor its corollary that it was an Oneida and not an Onondaga town that was attacked. The most exhaustive study of the matter is that by William M. Beauchamp, "Champlain and the Oneidas in 1615," in the *American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society*, Twenty-third Annual Report, Albany, 1918, 625-643.

² Consul W. Butterfield, *History of Brulé's Discoveries and Explorations, 1610-1626*, Cleveland, 1898; Frank H. Severance, *An Old Frontier of France*, 2 volumes, New York, 1917, II, 3, 13-14.

called Pompey Stone, found on the farm of Philo Cleveland near Pompey, Onondaga County, in 1820. And although this hoax was completely exposed nearly half a century ago, one still occasionally meets statements implying its authenticity.³ The fact that the establishment of its true character was made in a local newspaper, and that this exposé of the circumstances surrounding its perpetration did not find its way very widely into the professional journals, probably accounts in large measure for its persistence in survival as a genuine monumental record.

The account of this find was initially passed on to students and readers of history through its publication in two widely circulated works, Joshua V. H. Clark's *Onondaga; or Reminiscences of Earlier and Later Times*, published at Syracuse in 1849, and Henry R. Schoolcraft's *Notes on the Iroquois*, published at Albany in 1847. The similarity—at times identity—of phraseology employed by these two authors in describing the discovery of the stone leaves no doubt of their dependence on a common source of information. And despite the priority of publication of Schoolcraft's volume, there are grounds for believing that Clark did not copy the Schoolcraft narrative.⁴ The fact that Clark lived at no great distance from Pompey and was in a position to gather the facts of the discovery from people well acquainted with the incident leads us to follow his narrative in preference to that of Schoolcraft.

Mr. Cleveland was picking stones in his field, preparatory to making a meadow, in the summer of 1820 or 1821. It was on a moist piece of ground and toward evening, at the close of his day's labors, he raised the stone with his iron bar and turned it on its edge. Mr. C. being weary, leaned against a stump near by, while his hands rested on the top of the bar. While musing in that position, with his eyes fixed upon the stone, he observed something remarkable about it; and

³ John T. Conlon, "The Beginnings of Catholicism in New Netherland, 1600-1664," *Historical Records and Studies*, XXIII (1933), 173, note 2, relying on Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, IV, 434, and Henry A. Homes, "The Pompey, (New York) Stone," *Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society* (1881), 83-95, writes: "The 'Pompey Stone' found in Oneida [Onondaga] County, inscribed and dated in 1520, indicates the presence of a few Spanish Catholics in the present State of New York almost a century before the recorded discovery of that territory. The monument is regarded as genuine and authentic."

⁴ It would be to little purpose in this connection to enter into the controversy once waged between the supporters of these two early authors. The legend of Hiawatha, publicized widely for the first time by Schoolcraft, is now probably correctly ascribed to Clark. Schoolcraft was an assiduous compiler, but he lacked much of the scientific temperament, and his methods of workmanship were peculiarly his own. The excerpts here reproduced indicate his inaccuracy in respect to ever well established facts.

upon taking a nearer view, discovered some of the characters and letters. . . . He removed it to a pile of stones not far distant, and at the time thought but little of it. Several days afterward he made another visit to the stone, when he found that the rain had washed the dirt clean from it, and the rude engraving was much more distinctly to be seen.⁵

Of the appearance of the stone, he writes:

It is about fourteen inches long by twelve inches broad and eight inches thick; a very heavy, hard, oval shaped stone, evidently a boulder, much worn, and from outward appearances, granitic, but perhaps approaching nearer to gneiss than granite; on it in the centre, is rather rudely engraved the figure of a tree with a serpent climbing it.⁶

Clark, Schoolcraft, and a number of other authors published representations of the stone or at least of its engravings. Few of these engravings agreed with one another and consequently only added to the problem of interpretation. The following adheres to the essential characteristics of the carving as far as the letters are concerned:

Leo. De L'on

VI 1520

Between the De and the L'on a crude, thin-line tree acts as a divisor, and a large rough X is under the L'on.

In an effort to account for so unusual a relic being found in the center of New York State, Clark reviewed briefly the history of the early exploration of North America, and concluded:

When these facts are taken into consideration, and the extreme interest then felt by all classes of men, in the development of the resources of the new world, the avidity with which daring adventurers sought the most distant and imaginary sources of wealth; and the avarice, cupidity and desperation of these men, it may not appear incredible, that a party of Spaniards, either stimulated by the spirit of adventure, or allured by the love of gold, or driven by some rude blast of misfortune, may have visited this region, lost one of their number by death, and erected this rude stone with its simple inscription as a tribute to his memory, as early as the year 1520.⁷

After a time the stone was taken to a neighboring blacksmith shop, from whence it was removed to the museum of the Albany Institute, and finally to the State Museum in Albany.

⁵ II, 264.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 266.

Meanwhile Schoolcraft's elaborate explanation was going the rounds:

By the figure of a serpent climbing a tree, a well known passage in the Pentateuch is clearly referred to. By the date, the sixth year of the reign of the Roman pontiff, Leo X, has been thought to be denoted. This appears to be probable, less clearly from the inscriptive phrase, Leo de Lon VI, than from the plain date, 1520, being six years after this pontiff took the papal chair.⁸

With a felicitous indifference to accuracy of dates, Mr. Schoolcraft then goes on to offer a probable explanation of the stone's origin:

Florida had, however, then [1520] been known to the Spaniards for many years, having been discovered by De Leon in 1512, the very year that Leo X. assumed the papal chair. Its coasts and bays were known, as far west, at least, as the mouth of the Mississippi, which was evidently discovered by the Spaniards from Cuba in 1527. It was De Leon, however, who first visited the interior, and his visionary search for *the spring endowed with the property of restoring perpetual youth*, would hardly be credited, did it not rest on the best historical testimony. It is far more likely that some straggling party had reached the Iroquois country, from this Quixotic era of exploration, than from the mouth of the St. Lawrence, where the Cortereals were in 1501. And with this idea in mind, it may be thought that the name De Leon is intended, by the words De Lon. The date, VI, would tally exactly with the sixth year after the landing in, and discovery of Florida, in 1512; the Onondaga country being then, *as much a part of Florida as any other part of the Atlantic and interior coasts*. If by the prefix of Leo, or Llon, a compliment to a brave and hardy explorer was designed to have been expressed, it would have well corresponded with the chivalric character of that age. As a mere historical question, a claim to the discovery of the interior of New York, by the Spanish crown, might, in this view, find something to base itself on.⁹

In 1863 a greater name than that of Schoolcraft was brought forward to explain the intriguing inscription. In a paper submitted that year to the American Antiquarian Society in explanation of certain archaeological remains found in Fairfield and adjacent counties of Ohio, Buckingham Smith took occasion to mention the Pompey Stone. In his abstract of Mr. Smith's paper, the librarian of the Society, S. F. Haven, writes:

Mr. Smith suggests that these inscriptions may possibly have been

⁸ *Notes on the Iroquois*, 326-327.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 328-329.

derived from Spanish missionaries who penetrated the country at a very early period, of whom no account has been transmitted; and refers to the stone found in Onondaga County, N. Y., a well-authenticated relic, which has upon it the figures 1520, as perhaps determining the period of these memorials.

He says, that, of the many representations of that stone, there is a concurrence in thus much of the letters perceptible, divided by the figure of a tree intwined by a serpent, thus:

Leo De		N.
VI 1520		

and as, in the year of Christ, 1520, Giovanni de Medici (Leo X) sat upon the Papal throne, the words might possibly have been

LEO DECimus PONTifex MAXImus.¹⁰

The most elaborate defense of the authenticity of the stone took the form of a lecture delivered before the Oneida Historical Society on November 11, 1879, by Henry A. Homes, librarian of the New York State Library, and published in the *Transactions* of the Society for 1881 under the title "The Pompey, (N. Y.) Stone, with an Inscription and Date of A. D. 1520."

Dr. Homes prefaced his paper by a summary of previously advanced explanations of the origin of the rock and of its inscriptions. He then offered his own solution, and concluded by presenting a digest of the history of such early exploring ventures as might lend credibility to his theory.

My position in a single proposition, is the following: The Pompey Stone is a memorial stone of a European, probably of a Spaniard, who previous to 1520, with one or more companions had been made a captive by the Indians in some part of North America, and both had been adopted as members of the tribe with which they were living, and one of them had become a Sachem. At the death of Leo a surviving companion carved on the stone his name with the month and year of his death, and emblems of his hope of an immortal life.¹¹

Homes' opinion gained prestige from the fact that Berthold Fernow, keeper of the Historical Records of the State of New York, writing in Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, adduced "the evidence of the Pompey Stone" in support of Spanish exploration of the Hudson River prior to the Dutch, and cited Homes' article in testimony.¹²

A more specific amplification was given the interpretation in

¹⁰ *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 1863, 31-32.

¹¹ *Transactions of the Oneida Historical Society*, 1881, 87.

¹² IV, Boston, 1884, 434.

1896 by the Rev. Dr. John F. Mullany, of Syracuse, in the course of an historical sermon treating of Catholic beginnings in central New York.

This region was visited by the Catholic priests upwards of one hundred years before the pilgrims landed at Plymouth Rock, and long before the Dutch settled the New Netherlands on Manhattan island. The monumental stone discovered on Pompey Hill by Philo Cleveland in the year 1820, bearing the date 1520, carries back our local history 376 years from our own time—to a period when the Spaniards were making their discoveries in Florida. This stone, in all probability, was left by some missionary priest to mark the resting place of a companion who had fallen on his journey to the north in quest of souls. The inscription on the stone bears out this conclusion, for it is in ecclesiastical form used only by the Catholic clergy. Translated, it is as follows: Leo X., by the grace of God reigning,—sixth year of his pontificate. Pope Leo X. was crowned pope in the year 1514, and hence 1520 would be the sixth year of his pontificate. Besides, the stone crowned by a cross, bears the engraving of a tree in the center, with a serpent curled around it. This is an old Spanish emblem symbolizing reward and punishment. The stone is now in the state museum at Albany and is considered an authentic relic of antiquity.¹³

The true explanation of the Pompey Stone was made public only in 1894. The centenary of Onondaga County was celebrated that year. The occasion gave rise to a new interest in the county's history, and naturally its most famous rock came in for its share of attention. Mr. Homes' hypothesis was again advanced, but on this occasion the shrewdest of all Onondaga antiquarians, the Rev. Dr. William M. Beauchamp, Episcopal rector and one-time state archaeologist, determined to subject the stone to a critical examination. His findings were published in the *Syracuse Daily Journal* of June 9, 1894:

To The Journal:—As is frequent in such cases, H. A. Home's paper on the Pompey stone could not be found when I returned home, and I may not have preserved it, as it threw no clear light on the subject. I can, however, give you its substance. He referred to the many instances of wandering white men in the sixteenth century, held as captives or adopted by the Indians, and so far his argument was good. Then he supposed this stone, which he thought a true relic, the monument of such a captive in Pompey, raised by a surviving companion. To this I answered that there were no Indian villages in Pompey at that date and the moist ground in which it was found was

¹³ John F. Mullany, *The Pioneer Catholic Church of the State of New York*, Syracuse, 1897, 2-3.

not suitable for burial. Accepting it as genuine, I hazarded the conjecture that some exploring party had placed it, as the French buried or placed lead plates, as an act or sign of possession. We neither of us, questioned the truth of the date, as I think no one has done. Mr. Homes made no critical remarks on this point, as he well might, for his knowledge of old books would have shown him features of doubt.

I owe it to your kindness that I could make a close examination of the stone this afternoon, and certainly with unexpected results. The inscription was not cut with a knife, but with several and somewhat different tools, and with blows from a hammer or mallet. Two of these tools were cold chisels of good quality, one having a straight and very sharp edge, nearly three-eighths of an inch wide, and another a little narrower and rounded and dulled by use. These were used in certain parts of the work, and the lines at the top of the letters were made with a single stroke of the hammer. On the ornament in the right hand lower and elsewhere, a smith's punch was used, one with a dull but not broad point. What other tools were employed it is not necessary to say. A hammer, two cold chisels and a good punch would make a pretty good ket of tools for a wandering Spaniard and he may have found these enough. If any one thinks he carried them so far he may believe in the Pompey stone.

There is another feature which has received no notice. The characters are purely modern. The letter L is that of this century, not of the sixteenth. It is the fashion now to use old fashioned type, and if anyone will look at the letters in question the distinction will be seen. I have gone through a number of my books of that century, as well as some of the next, and in all, the terminal point of the capital L slopes forward, instead of being upright as on the stone. I think that this was invariable from 1500 to 1600, and general for a century later, but an expert could determine this and the next point at once.

The next point is that the numerals are modern characters, of uniform height and not reaching distinctly above or below the line. I find no figures like those until a long time after the date carved on the stone. Anyone can see this also, by taking a book of 150 or 200 years old. Especially it may be noticed that he will find no figure 5 like that on the stone. If no such book is accessible he may turn to books printed in the fashionable old types of to-day. These forms were in general use up to the beginning of this century.

Mr. Clark accounted for the fresh appearance of the work by the fact that, as it stood in a blacksmith's shop for some weeks people would "take a horse nail or old file and scrape all the cracks and seams and carvings, giving it somewhat the appearance of new work." This does not account for the clean, short cuts made by the cold chisel. I may add that I have investigated several frauds in every way more antique in character than this inscription.

You ask my opinion, and I simply give the facts, submitting the

question to you in turn. According to the statement of the find the spot was unsuitable for either dwelling, camp or grove. At the date given there were no Indians living in Pompey and few in the county.

The work was done by a man of skill, and fair knowledge of modern, not of early books. He had a good supply of smith's or stone-cutter's tools. The characters are those of the nineteenth, not of the sixteenth century. Further deponent saith not.

Thanks to your consideration, I have now a close copy of the inscription, something not before obtained. It differs much from Clarke's figures, and all others which I have seen. No intelligent judgment can be rendered without this exactness. I wish a "squeeze" might be made, but am too busy to do it. The full notes I made will also be of further use, and for the present will find a safe place in the sixth volume of my "Onondaga Antiquities."

W. M. Beauchamp.

Two days later, June 11, 1894, the *Syracuse Daily Journal* carried the following letter from a well-known and highly respected citizen of Syracuse:

To The Journal—While being interested in what has been said about the Pompey stone, I have not been so [interested as] to think it worth while to give the facts as to its origin. Mr. Beauchamp's letter in the *Saturday's Journal*, however, calls for the facts for the purpose of showing what reliance can be placed on a man's opinion who makes one subject a special study.

My uncle, Cyrus Avery, who was born in Pompey and lived there during the early part of the century, told me the last time I saw him, 1867, that he and his nephew, William Willard, of this city, cut the figures¹⁴ on the Pompey stone, and just to see what would come of it. When it came out in Clark's history so much had come of it, they thought it best to keep still altogether.

I have no doubt the tools were those mentioned by Mr. Beauchamp, as such tools were exactly the ones most likely to be at hand in Grandfather Avery's blacksmith shop at Oran.¹⁴

Mr. Willard's friends will hardly credit his being interested in a practical joke of that kind, but Mr. Avery (a brother of the late Dr. Avery of Phoenix), was given to just that sort of thing. . . .

The Pompey stone is nothing more or less than a joke. It can hardly be called a fraud as it does not pretend to be anything, nor did the makers ever do anything to make it appear that it was. I doubt if either of them ever saw it after it was brought to light.

Really I hardly think the stone worth sending back to Albany, and

¹⁴ A small hamlet in the vicinity.

Mr. Beauchamp may congratulate himself upon having sized up the inscription so accurately.

Syracuse, June 11, 1894.

John E. Sweet.

The stone was taken back to Albany, however, and there escaped harm in the disastrous fire of 1911 which destroyed so many of the state's authentic historical records.

It appears that the element of farce has ever lingered close to the Pompey Stone. The stone now on display under that label at the State Museum presents only a portion of the inscription traced by Beauchamp in 1894, the carving gives evidence of rather recent tooling, and the date reads 1589!

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A Great Mexican Theologian: Francisco Xavier Alegre (1729-1788)*

Perhaps more than one reader was surprised upon reading the title of this article, and immediately asked himself, with curiosity and incredulity, who the Mexican could be who deserved being regarded as a great theologian. How false and narrow a concept we are accustomed to have of our own country!

We have had it repeated to us so often, at home and abroad, that we have been led to believe that Mexico is a land rich only in crimes and revolutions. We have not had, to be sure, a great critic like Don Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo to carry forward in our country what he did in Spain: that is, to investigate with scientific objectivity, reconstruct, and revive with the potent breath of historical genius, the forgotten glorious monuments of the national heritage.

Nevertheless, we have the *Apuntaciones históricas acerca de la filosofía en México* and the *Bibliografía filosófica mexicana* of the well-known Monsignor Valverde y Téllez; the monumental bibliographical works of Eguiara, Beristáin, Icazbalceta, and Dr. Nicolás León; with regard to Mexican poetry the brilliant chapter devoted to the subject in Menéndez Pelayo's *Historia de la poesía Hispano-americana*, and the work of Pimentel, not to mention the recent and worth-while works of Carlos González Peña and Julio Jiménez Rueda; and other works of erudition, history, and criticism sufficient to demonstrate to us that in Mexico not only the fauna of crime and tyranny has thrived, but also the supreme flower of the soul, art, has bloomed, and the immortal fruits of human and Christian culture are cultivated: philosophy and theology.

"We have a brilliant heritage but we fail to recognize it," writes Alfonso Junco with justification. And so, in order to restrict ourselves only to the field of philosophy and theology, who of us has bothered or bothers to study and justly appreciate the works of Fray Alonso de la Vera Cruz and Father Rubio, both

* This article has been translated by J. Manuel Espinosa from the noted Mexican publication, *Abside, Revista de cultura Mexicana*, IV (April 1940), 3-17. The author, Father Plancarte, editor of *Abside*, recently visited the United States as a guest of our Department of State in the interests of a better understanding and appreciation of the respective cultures of Mexico and our country.

Spaniards, and the first students of early Scholasticism in our country, of Father Díaz de Gamarra who introduced to us modern post-Cartesian philosophy, of the great bishop of Michoacán, Don Clemente de Jesús Mungía, called the "Mexican Balmes?" Who has made an individual and complete study of the works, theological, literary, and scientific, by which the Mexican Jesuits exiled to Italy in the second half of the eighteenth century enriched our literature and placed the name of Mexico on a high pinnacle in Europe?

Some of this, a very minute part of this, is what is attempted here by a study of the theological work of one of our own compatriots, containing the fruits of my investigations concerning one whom I consider a great Mexican theologian: Father Francisco Xavier Alegre.

I

I will not tarry with the external biographical data about Father Alegre. Born in Vera Cruz on November 12, 1729, he made his first studies in his native city and in Puebla, in the Royal Seminary of St. Ignatius. He continued his studies in Mexico, then in Angelópolis, and entered the Society of Jesus on March 19, 1747. There, in the laborious silence of Tepotzotlán—which at that time was not a "well-known spot" for the profane admiration of tourists, but rather a fertile seeding ground of saints and poets—the young Alegre, at the age of nineteen, composed his "Alejandriada," an epic poem in elegant Latin hexameters on Alexander the Great, the conqueror of Tyre.

Professor of grammar in Mexico and in Vera Cruz, of philosophy and rhetoric in Havana, of Canon law in Mérida, Yucatán, everywhere he gave proof of his varied and solid erudition, which was being continually increased by his "insatiable love for study," and by his "inexhaustible search for knowledge," of which his contemporary biographer writes in the *De Auctoris Vita Commentarius* which precedes his volumes on theology.

Hence, he came to master, besides Greek and Latin, Italian, French, and English; "he penetrated the secrets of higher Mathematics" and wrote various works on the subject; he enriched his mind and heart with the assiduous and tireless reading of all the great writers of classical antiquity, of the Holy Fathers and ecclesiastical writers of the first centuries, and of the great theologians, philosophers, and literary figures of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. "Totally unbelievable," we are told

by the same biographer, "is the quantity of volumes which he devoured in his youthful avidity for reading" (p. xi).

Father Alegre had scarcely completed the work which his superiors had charged him with writing, the *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en Nueva España*, and was about to publish it, when the expulsion of the Order, decreed "in vandal-like manner," in the words of Menéndez Pelayo, "without reason or a legal trial," by the government of Charles III, in 1767, obliged him to depart as an exile to Bologna.

There he passed the last twenty years of his existence, consecrated to a life of piety, teaching, and study. During this time he produced, among many others, his two principal works, besides the history of the Society already referred to: Namely and first, the translation into Latin hexameter of the *Iliad*, whose only defect—if it may be called such—is, in the opinion of Menéndez Pelayo, that it is too "Virgilian." This has merited him the title of prince of our Latinists. And secondly, his great theological work *Institutionum Theologicarum libri XVIII*, to which he dedicated almost exclusively the last eighteen years of his life.¹ Death finally came, piously and peacefully, on August 16, 1788.

II

I have called Father Alegre's theological work a great work. That it truthfully is, not only in its physical dimensions of seven substantial volumes, but above all for "the soundness of doctrine," which, writes Menéndez Pelayo, parallels "the classical

¹ Cf. Gabriel Méndez Plancarte, "La obra de los Jesuitas mexicanos en la Nueva España," *Abside*, V (May 1941), 330-332.

The title of Father Alegre's theological work is as follows: *FRANCISCI XAVERII — ALEGRII — Presbyteri Veracrucensis — INSTITUTIONUM THEOLOGICARUM — Libri XVIII — In quibus omnia Catholicae Ecclesiae Dogmata, Praecepta, My — steria, Sacramenta, Ritus adversus Paganos, Haereticos, — et Recentiores Philosophos Asseruntur, et Explicantur. — Tomus Primus. — Complectens. . . — Venetiis, — Typis Antonii Zattae, et M. D. CC. LXXXIX.*

In English translation: *XVIII Books of Theological Institutions—By Francisco Xavier Alegre, Priest of Veracruz—In which are defended and explained all the Dogmas, Precepts, Mysteries, Sacraments and Rites of the Catholic Church, against Pagans, Heretics and Modern Philosophers. Volume One, which contains . . . Venice, Press of Antonio Zatta and Sons. With permission of the Superiors, and with Privilege. 1789.*

This date of publication (1789) is that of the first three volumes; the fourth and fifth have the date 1790, and the sixth and seventh, 1791.

In the first volume there is an excellent portrait, a steel engraving, of Father Alegre, which has the following inscription: "D. Fran.us Xav.us Alegre Americ.us—Civis Veracrucensis—natus 12. Nov. 1729. Obijt. 16. Aug. 1788." And on the bottom of the portrait: "G. Vascellini scolpi."

purity of its Latin,"² for its rich and flowing, but always dignified eloquence, and for the methodical clarity and vast erudition with which the author expounds and defends "against (contemporary) pagans, heretics, and philosophers . . . all the Dogmas, Mysteries, Sacraments and Rites of the Catholic Church," as is announced on the title page of the work.

It is not a theological manual, dry and elementary, like so many others of his day. Conceived on a grand scale, with the genial and universal spirit (today we would say "encyclopedic"), in which were written the immortal works of the great Scholastics of the Middle Ages and the sixteenth century, St. Thomas, Scotus, Suárez, the *Institutions* of Father Alegre cover in a vast synthesis all the branches of theology, which, for the author, are the following:³

"Catechetical" theology, "by which are stated for the ignorant and the simple those things which all should believe explicitly"; "Polemic or Dogmatic" theology, "which does not concern itself only with stating to the ignorant the doctrines of the Faith, but also with winning the educated and the learned of this world, solving their arguments and confirming the truth of the Faith and proving with a multitude of reasons 'Dei testimonia nimis credibilia facta esse,' that is to say, the rational credibility of Christian revelation"; "Scholastic" theology proper, "which, presupposing the doctrine of Faith, explains it to the believers and the more advanced, with opportune questions and doubts about certain fine points existing among the faithful themselves, or rather resulting from the harmful interpretations of enemies"; the "Expositive," which, "investigating the most profound teachings of the written or unwritten Word of God, draws from it the doctrine which relates not only to the knowledge of things, but also to the guiding of one's life"; Moral theology, "which distinguishes vices from virtues, designating the proper limits of each, and harmonizes all acts of man, internal and external, according to the norm of the Faith and the rule of inspired doctrine"; and finally, Mystic theology, "in which, by heroic and supernatural virtues, and by the hidden action of the Holy Ghost, the soul disposes itself to a certain foretaste of future happiness and enjoys the sweet fruits of the same virtues."

To each of these, which "are not so much different types of Theology, but more correctly different parts and functions of one

² Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, 9 volumes, Madrid, 1883-1891, V, 54.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 7 ff.

single" theological science, corresponds, says the author, one of what are called graces, "gratis datas," given by antonomasia: to the Catechetical the gift of tongues, to the Polemic or Dogmatic the gift of Faith, to the Scholastic the "*Sermo Scientiae*," and the "*Interpretatio sermonum*," to the Expositive the "*Sermo Sapientiae*," to the Moral and the Mystic the Free Will: a beautiful parallel inspired in St. Paul and worthy of St. Augustine or St. Bonaventure.

All this vast material is reduced by Father Alegre into a brilliant architectural unity. Following an ordered plan different from that now used in teaching but no less logical and coherent, he erects the solid and grandiose edifice of his *Theological Institutions*.

It would be out of place and even impossible, in an article of the character and dimensions of this one, even to list all of the theological topics which Father Alegre develops in the eighteen books of his work. Suffice it to say there is no important question, dogmatic, moral, or of ecclesiastical history, which is not treated in it, either amply, with abundance of scriptural, patristic, and even humanistic erudition, or at least with brief but sufficient information.

Hence, I will limit myself to explaining the wise and exemplary position which our author adopts in relation to the diverse orthodox schools of theology, and then I will point out, very briefly, some of his doctrines, all of them notable from one point of view or another.

III

Father Alegre makes it clear that he is a fervent student of St. Thomas from the outset with his dedicatory prologue directed "To the Angelic Bishop and the Pastors and Doctors of the Catholic Church throughout the World," which begins thus:

A certain modern writer, I do not know whether with greater impiety or foolishness, has stated that these are not times in which the testimony or authority of Saint Thomas has any value. In effect, this 'uninformed and rude century' delights in trifles, and, (like a sick man) of weak stomach, rejects the solid doctrine of the Catholic Faith.*

* "Recentioris cuiusdam Scriptoris nescio an impia magis quam stulta vox fuit, non esse nunc tempora in quibus D. Thomae aut testimonium quicquam aut autoritas valeat. Nimirum 'saeculum insipiens et inficetum' nugas amat et solidam Catholicæ Fidei doctrinam, velut languente stomacho, respuit."

Speaking farther on about the same Angelic Doctor, he states that the enemies of the Church hate St. Thomas as they do because they know:

. . . that no other Catholic writer has treated theological subjects with greater thoroughness, conciseness and wealth of material; none has defined more strictly, divided with more nicety, explained more lucidly, confirmed with greater strength, or defended more robustly; has studied the Scriptures with greater diligence; expounded them with greater simplicity, or adduced with greater congruity; none has been more familiarized with the Greek and Roman Fathers, nor cited them more opportunely, nor referred to them with greater reverence; none has studied with greater care the Philosophers and profane authors of all types, nor understood them more correctly, or made them serve more felicitously the doctrine of the Church; none has corrected with greater modesty or refuted with greater efficacy the adversaries of the Faith, pagans, or heretics.⁵

And after this magnificent eulogy, he explains the general plan of his work with these words: "Avoiding all partisan passion, I present Saint Thomas, not removed from the center of the discussion, but rather in full flower, teaching, directing, and speaking in a style and method adapted to the present times."

But Father Alegre is not one of those who are accustomed to "*jurare in verba magistri*." A genuine student of St. Thomas, and precisely because of that fact, he knows well that the argument of human authority in speculative matters "is the weakest of all," and that the intelligent and free man should "hold under control" his understanding "out of respect for the Faith,"⁶ thus using the expression of St. Paul.

Hence, Father Alegre does not bind himself in servile manner to any of the philosophical-theological schools: Thomism, Scotism, Suarism, or Molinism; rather, he affixes on the first page of his work, as the escutcheon and program of just scientific freedom, those noble words of St. Jerome, in his Epistle 152: "My purpose is: to read the Early Writers, examine everything, re-

⁵ "Neminem Catholicorum rem Theologicam plenius pressiusque tractasse, ac locupletius; neminem aut definiisse strictius, aut divisisse subtilius, aut confirmasse nervosius, aut defendisse robustius; neminem Scripturas aut evoluisse diligentius, aut exposuisse simplicius, aut adduxisse congruentius; neminem Graecos et Latinos Patres aut trivisse frequentius, aut allegasse opportunius, aut tractasse reverentius; neminem Philosophos atque omnis generis profanos auctores aut enucleasse accuratius, aut intellexisse rectius, aut Ecclesiasticae doctrinae servire fecisse felicius; neminem adversarios fidei, sive Paganos sive Haereticos, aut correxisse modestius, aut confutasse efficacius."

⁶ "In obsequium fidei."

tain what is good, and not depart from the faith of the Catholic Church."

"A free citizen of the Republic of Letters," like his contemporary Feijóo, was Father Alegre: an eclectic, we may say in the words of Menéndez Pelayo in reference to Luis Vives:

As is any philosopher worthy of the name . . . ; eclectic, in that he admits the truth wherever it may strike; eclectic, in that he does not submit his own reason and his own criterion to the reason of the teachers and the criterion of a definite school; eclectic, in that he does not submit to authority except "in matters of Faith"; eclectic, in that he professes the great principle: In essentials, unity; in doubtful matters, liberty.⁷

And so we see that Father Alegre, in some respects, supports some of the most characteristic theses of Thomism: "All the Angels differ among themselves specifically";⁸ "The Sacraments produce Grace in the manner of an instrumental physical cause";⁹ "In Christ there is only one Being of actual existence, and this is the divine one, or more clearly: the Humanity of Christ, insofar as it is distinguished from the Word, has no created existence of its own."¹⁰ Yet, in other respects he parts from St. Thomas, for example in the thesis: "It is more probable that in the Subdeaconship and the other Minor Orders no Sacrament is conferred."¹¹

He himself states categorically the freedom of judgment that should be exercised in debatable questions, and the licitness of the diverse schools which differ in the theological field within orthodox Catholicism: "For, what harm is there, (even more: what is there that is not necessary and laudable) in the differences, natural to human minds, of various Schools which accept the same Faith and which in diverse ways explain and propound it?"¹²

And he makes clear his position as a student of St. Thomas, at the same time not identifying himself blindly to any definite school:

In the controversies which have arisen in the last centuries, we

⁷ Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *La ciencia española*, 2 volumes, Madrid, 1932, II, 15.

⁸ T. III, L. V, Prop. 10.

⁹ T. VI, L. XV, Prop. 1, n. 39-42.

¹⁰ T. IV, L. X, Prop. 14, 445.

¹¹ T. VI, L. XVI, Prop. 9, n. 11-13.

¹² T. I, p. 5. "Nam quid mali habet, imo quid non necessarium, non habet laudabile, scholarum in eadem fide consentientium et eandem fidem diversis modis explicantium et propugnantium, humanis ingeniis naturalis divisio?"

detest the passion of partisans as a plague pernicious to the freedom of opinion and to investigations in quest of truth. We follow only Saint Thomas, but without "taking oath to his words"; Saint Thomas, in whose time there was not yet any division into Schools of Theology, and whom the entire Church of Christ venerates and considers the spokesman and medium of the early Fathers, to such an extent that the name Thomas Aquinas appears to be the name not of a particular man, but of pure Theology itself.¹³

That profound love for St. Thomas, and that just freedom of criterion in the search for truth, shine resplendent throughout the entire work of Father Alegre, and are manifested above all in the unusual and surprising fact that, despite his undoubted and fervent love for the Society of Jesus, he parts frequently from the doctrines of its great theologians, Suárez, Molina, Bellarmine, Petavius, whose doctrines had become "quasi-official" in his Order, and he supports, in the extremely important matters of Divine Knowledge, the efficacy of Grace, and Predestination, doctrines which approximate Thomism more closely, although without going as far as strict Bañesianism.

I note this, not because I may or may not be in sympathy with such doctrines, but rather because, as previously indicated, I see in them an unequivocal sign and a proof of the absolute independence of criterion with which Father Alegre proceeded in the questions discussed; and that independence, that just scientific freedom, that sane eclecticism, even when on occasion, as is only human, it permits one to fall into error, is one of the essential qualities of any true thinker, is a condition *sine qua non* of all intellectual progress, and is, in any judgment, one thousand times more preferable than the servility of the *servum pecus* who refuses to think with the head God has given him.

IV

Other notable aspects of the theology of Father Alegre are the following:

In advance of many theologians of his time, he expounds admirably the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, demonstrating how it is in accord with the dogma of universal

¹³ T. I, p. 10. "Partium studium in his, quae posterioribus saeculis natae sunt, controversiis, tamquam pestem opinandi libertati et veritatis investigationi inimicissimam detestamur. Unum D. Thomam, non tamen in ejus verba jurantes, sequimur, cujus aetate nulla erat adhuc Theologicarum scholarum divisio, quem tota Christi Ecclesia veluti veterum Patrum linguam atque organum veneratur ac suscipit, perinde quasi Thomae Aquinatis nomen, non viri alicujus sed ipsius merae puraeque Theologiae nomen esse videatur."

Redemption, and how it is not contrary to the teaching of the early Holy Fathers, although our author does not decide to manifest himself openly in favor of the truth of the said doctrine, at that time not yet defined.¹⁴

Free from the Gallican contagion which infected such genial minds as Bossuet, he defends the infallibility of the Pope, although he is in error when he denies his definability as dogma of the faith.¹⁵

On the basis of the ordinary teachings and the common beliefs of the Church, he affirms that it would not only be "temerity" but also "impiety" to deny the corporal Assumption of Mary, but at the same time, with exemplary scientific integrity, he calls attention to the falsity or weakness of some of the arguments adduced to prove it.¹⁶

He defends the beautiful doctrine of Doctor Eximius—basis of true Christian democracy—according to which the civil authority is not given to sovereigns "directly" by God, but rather by the people.¹⁷

With virile energy he reproves as unjust and pernicious the traffic, then still common, of African slaves who were taken to the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in America; and he considers as unenlightened the zeal of those who, to free the Indians from slavery, advised that they be substituted by Negroes, thus only furthering that infamous traffic.¹⁸

He supports the opinion of St. Thomas—contrary to what is now, I believe, the common view of theologians—that the souls of purgatory cannot pray for the living, but only for themselves.¹⁹

Also following St. Thomas, he defends the Aristotelian opinion that "*mundi inceptio sola fide tenetur*": that is to say that only by faith, and not by reason, can there be certain proof that the world of creation is not eternal, an opinion at present rejected by Suarez, Scotist, and even many Thomist theologians.²⁰

Influenced perhaps by the "parochialist" tendencies which during those years were crystallized into the subversive and almost schismatic exaggerations of the Synod of Pistoia, in 1786, he attempts to prove that the parish priests form a part of the

¹⁴ T. IV, 293-299.

¹⁵ T. V, L. XI, Prop. XV, (149-152).

¹⁶ T. I, 262-266; VII, 25-26.

¹⁷ T. IV, L. VIII, Prop. IX, (74-77).

¹⁸ T. III, L. VI, Prop. VI, (289-290, n. 32).

¹⁹ T. III, L. VI, Prop. XII, (294-295, n. 4-6).

²⁰ T. III, L. V, Prop. IV.

hierarchy of jurisdiction, and that they exist "*ex Christi institutione*" (by divine institution) in the Church; since, he states, the apostles could not fulfill the divine mandate of teaching the Gospel to all peoples without the help of a lesser ministry, as are the parish priests.²¹ Otherwise, this is the only point in which it appears that the theology of Father Alegre is in any way affected by the Gallican-Pistoian theories which gained so much influence during those years.

He makes a brilliant statement and defense of the much calumniated "dead hand," or Church properties, against its malicious detractors.²²

With regard to liturgical music and the use of musical instruments in the church services, he sets forth beautiful ideas that might well be considered as precursors of the wise tendency blessed by His Holiness Pius X in his celebrated *Motu Proprio* on Sacred Music.²³

In the ancient dispute concerning the corporal beauty of Christ, Father Alegre, as would be expected of a Christian humanist who loved beauty, adheres firmly to the affirmative statement.²⁴

He treats amply the grave questions referring to the religious liberty of infidels, the right of conquest, and civil tolerance of pagans, Jews, and heretics; generally leaning in favor of the most respected doctrines of human liberty.²⁵

On the origin, nature, and effects of indulgences, he expounds extensively and with originality, although he departs on certain points from the common doctrine of the Schools.²⁶

Finally, with regard to games he sets forth interesting ideas, among which I was attracted by the curious, and debatable, evaluation of chess, which I quote below, and which undoubtedly will arouse the ire of the devotees of the game:

For which reason, the game of chess is extremely boring, if considered from the viewpoint of the ultimate purpose of all games. For it is stupid to place in something fictitious and of little importance, great attention and an effort productive of cerebral fatigue. Best, therefore, is that game in which restfulness of mind is united with a moderate amount of bodily exercise.²⁷

²¹ T. V, L. XII, Prop. XIII, (414-415, n. 25).

²² T. V, L. XII, Prop. XII.

²³ T. III, L. VI, Prop. XVI, (236-237, n. 2).

²⁴ T. IV, L. X, Prop. XI, (Scholion, 417-418).

²⁵ T. III, L. VII, Prop. X.

²⁶ T. VI, L. XVI, Prop. VII.

²⁷ T. III, L. VI, Prop. 34, (479): "Unde ludus Scachorum pessimus est

Many other notable or curious aspects of the theology of Father Alegre could be noted, a work, in truth, worthy of mature and careful study.

For the present, I believe that what has been stated above is sufficient to give an idea of the high intrinsic value of the *Theological Institutions*, and to show that I have not exaggerated in calling Father Francisco Xavier Alegre a great Mexican theologian. Menéndez Pelayo refers to him as:

... one of the finest ornaments of the Jesuit emigration of the time of Charles III, equally notable as historian of the Society of Jesus, as author of a course in theology in which the classic purity of the Latin equals the solidity of doctrine, and as a most elegant Latin poet. . . .²⁸

And I do not wish to omit here two other passages in which the Spanish polygrapher refers to the theology of Father Alegre.

In the Bibliographical Inventory which is found in the third volume of *La ciencia española*, he writes: "In these *Institutions* he [Father Alegre] attempted to link the Scholastic Theology with the Positive, and with the study of languages and history."²⁹

And in his *Historia de la poesía Hispano-americana*, expanding upon the eulogy which we saw in his *Historia de las ideas estéticas*, he refers to the *Theological Institutions* of Alegre as:

... a work in which classic purity of diction, worthy of Melchor Cano or some other rare theologian of the Renaissance, equals the solidity of doctrine and the long study of the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the immortal volumes of Saint Thomas, Suárez, and Petavius, whose teachings are presented there free, insofar as possible, of the rocky roads and thorns of Scholasticism.

This is the opinion of the great teacher, definitive, as is nearly always the case.

V

In the introduction of the *Theological Institutions*³⁰ there is an extensive biography of Father Alegre, "*De Auctoris Vita Commentarius*," which has been mentioned above. For the biographical and bibliographical data which it contains it has been

attento fine Ludi proximo. Stultum enim est in re umbratili et nullius momenti maximam attentionem et studium cum capitis defatigatione collocare. Optimus propterea ludus ille est, in quo mentis quies cum moderata corporis exercitatione conjungitur. . . ."

²⁸ Menéndez Pelayo, *Historia*, V, 54.

²⁹ *La ciencia*, 204.

³⁰ Pp. vii-xxxi.

the earliest and most reliable source for our bibliographers. Written in beautiful Ciceronian Latin, it constitutes a worthy preface to the theological work of Father Alegre. Don Joaquín García Icazbalceta reproduced it, in Spanish translation, at the beginning of the *Opúsculos inéditos* of Alegre published by him.

This biography is anonymous. Who wrote it? Icazbalceta himself³¹ and Don Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo³² attribute it to Father Manuel Fabri, also a Mexican Jesuit, but do not give their reasons for doing so. On the other hand Osóres³³ writes that Father Agustín Pablo Pérez de Castro, another of our illustrious exiles, wrote and published in Italy a *Vida del P. Francisco Alegre, jesuita americano*. Osóres does not indicate in what language this *Vida* was written, nor in what city it was printed, nor the date of its publication. It could be surmised, then, with some basis of probability, that this was the one which appears at the beginning of the *Institutions*.

Nevertheless, I believe that the opinion of Icazbalceta and Menéndez Pelayo is the correct one, and I believe that the basis for their statement is the following:

The anonymous author of the *Commentarius* on the life of Alegre refers to another biography also written by him, of Father Diego José Abad:

... And in that way, through our efforts, some record of Alegre and Abad will be preserved: those two men who, similar in genius, equal in age, rivals in study and interests, and closely bound in friendship, honored with their writings the Province of Mexico and the Republic of Letters.³⁴

We have no knowledge that Father Pérez de Castro wrote any biography of Father Abad. On the other hand, in the third edition of the *De Deo Deoque Homine Heroica*, Cesena, 1780, there appears a biography of Father Abad signed with the initials E. F.; initials which in the following edition, Cesena, 1793, are substituted by the complete name "Emmanuel Fabri." It appears justifiable to believe that this biography of Abad is the one

³¹ Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed., *Opúsculos inéditos, Latinos y Castellanos, Del P. Francisco Javier Alegre*, Mexico, 1889, vii.

³² Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, *Bibliografía hispano-latina clásica*, Madrid, 1902, 809.

³³ Félix Osóres, *Noticias bio-bibliográficas de alumnos distinguidos . . . del Colegio de San Ildefonso*, Mexico, I, 39, II, 144.

³⁴ " . . . Eoque pacto, duorum qui ingenio similes, aetate pares, in studiis aemuli, amicitia conjunctissimi, Abadli Alegrique, Mexicanam Provinciam litterariamque rem scriptis illustrarunt suis, aliqua ad posteros per nos memoria perennabit."

referred to by the author of the *Alegre Commentarius*, and that, therefore, Father Manuel Fabri is the author of both.

Who was this Father Manuel Fabri? A Mexican Jesuit, but probably of Italian origin as his name would seem to indicate. The well-known bibliographer of the Society, Sommervogel, tells us that he was born in the city of Mexico on November 18, 1737, entered the novitiate on January 31, 1754, was deported to Italy with his companions, and died in Rome on March 17, 1805.³⁵ To judge from his biographies of Abad and Alegre, Father Fabri should be placed beside the two whose biographies he wrote, among our finest Latinists.

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³⁵ Carlos Sommervogel, S. J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, nouvelle édition, 11 volumes, Brussels, 1890-1932, III, col. 510-511.

Notes and Comment

With deep regret we hear of the death of Father Raymond Corrigan, S. J., editor of *The Historical Bulletin*, and professor of history at St. Louis University. For years he has been a familiar figure at meetings of historical associations. A tribute by William J. McGucken, S. J., appears in the pages of *The Historical Bulletin* for March 1943.

The same number of this periodical has a biographical sketch of the late Father Gilbert J. Garraghan, by Thomas F. O'Connor.

Teachers, students, and investigators in the field of Western American history will find very useful Oscar Osburn Winther's *The Trans-Mississippi West: A Guide to Its Periodical Literature, 1811-1938*, Indiana University Publications, Social Science Series No. 3, Bloomington, 1942, pp. 203. It is topically arranged, individual states and regions comprising the most important groupings. It is a reference work which should be in every library. The volume contains 3,501 items, all well cross-indexed. Twenty items from MID-AMERICA are listed. The only periodical omission noted was that of the Missouri Historical Society *Collections*, now extinct, but containing a number of fine articles on the Missouri frontier and the early fur trade of the trans-Mississippi region.

Bibliographies in American History. Guide to Materials for Research, second edition, by Henry P. Beers, came out last year from the press of H. W. Wilson Company, New York. About 4,000 new titles have been added to those of the 1937 edition. There need be no comment upon the value of this publication to students.

After a series of disappointments Ronald Hilton has brought out his *Handbook of Hispanic Source Materials and Research Organizations in the United States* (University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1942). This is a commendable work. It will prove useful, although some of the contributors attribute too much significance to their respective collections.

The Lost Peace, A Personal Impression, by Harold Butler (Harcourt, Brace, 1942), describes how the peace of Europe could have been saved after the last war, even without the League of Nations. Mr. Butler was director of the International Labour Office. In the later chapters of his book the writer lays down guiding principles based upon the Christian code of ethics as necessary for an abiding peace in the future.

Dr. Syngman Rhee, native of Korea but now for long an appreciative resident of this country, paints a decidedly black picture of Japan

and its aims in his *Japan Inside Out—The Challenge of Today* (Fleming H. Revell Company, New York, 1942). The work was prepared before Pearl Harbor, yet it indicates the inevitability of the conflict, owing to the trend of the Japanese political mind.

Dr. John J. Wright has published his doctoral dissertation, *National Patriotism in the Papal Teaching* (The Stratford Company, Boston, 1942), as a moral treatise from the Papal pronouncements on patriotism. The distinction between correct patriotism, excessive nationalism, internationalism, and the various isms offered as solutions for the shattered world politics, is clearly drawn by Father Wright.

Those interested primarily in judicial aspects of our national progress will find pleasant hours reading *The Growth of American Constitutional Law*, by Professor Benjamin F. Wright, published in 1942 by Cornwall Press, New York. According to the contention of Professor Wright amply verified in the book, "our most characteristic political institution" is the doctrine of judicial review.

Celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of the publication of the Great Bible, the University of Chicago Press has brought forth the monograph, *The First Authorized English Bible and the Cranmer Preface*, by Harold R. Willoughby. The study has to do with the typography and layout of this and the seven folio editions which appeared between 1539 and 1541. A bibliography and two excellent facsimiles are given.

The trend toward making the historical magazines and journals more appealing to the eye has been followed most recently by *Michigan History* and *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. The former came out in its new garb in the Winter Number, XXVII, No. 1, 1943. A number of photographs appear within the pages between the new colored cover. *Wisconsin Magazine of History* has a picture of the "Red Pieta" panel of the mural in the new postoffice at De Pere, Wisconsin, while the first fourteen pages are devoted to pictures from the special exhibitions prepared by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. This "Experiment in Using History" is entitled "Worth Fighting For." Each page represents something worth fighting for: Opportunity, The Land, Conservation, Free Schools, Academic Freedom, Religious Freedom, Political Freedom, Racial Equality, Woman's Rights, Freedom of Expression, Rights of Labor, Freedom from Want, Freedom from Fear, and Justice for All.

Book Reviews

The Life of Rt. Rev. Joseph Rosati, C. M.: First Bishop of St. Louis, 1789-1843. By Reverend Frederick John Easterly, C. M. Catholic University of America Studies in American Church History, Vol. XXXIII. The Catholic University of America Press, Washington, 1942. Pp. xi, 203.

The multiple and complex nature of the duties that fell to the care of Joseph Rosati as seminary director, religious superior, coadjutor, administrator, bishop, and apostolic delegate invest his career with more than average significance, and offer latitude as well as a challenge to his biographer. At the same time, few of our pioneer bishops were possessed of the historical instinct which led the first bishop of St. Louis perseveringly to record the day by day events of his life and to abstract and preserve the voluminous correspondence that passed through his hands. Dr. Easterly has been singularly favored both in his subject and in the abundance and merit of the materials available for his researches.

The story of Bishop Rosati's episcopal labors in the Mississippi Valley has already been set forth capably and at length by the historians of Catholic endeavor in that region—Souvay, Holweck, Rothensteiner, Garraghan, and others. Ricciardelli in his *Vita del Servo di Dio Felice De Andreis* had of necessity to treat of the assistance rendered by Father Rosati to his venerable superior in the foundation of the Congregation of the Mission in the United States. The distinctive contribution made by the present study is, therefore, for the most part one of approach and orientation rather than of the revelation of any significant amount of hitherto unknown facts. The exception to this is in the author's account of Father Rosati's priestly life in Italy and in his very definite addition to the commonly known details of his mission to Haiti.

The outstanding merit of Dr. Easterly's work is its virtually complete reliance upon primary sources. As a general and fundamental norm of procedure such a technique is deserving of the very highest commendation. But in a field so many aspects of which have already been cultivated by able scholars, it remains at least a question whether a prudent auxiliary use of these critical studies would not have clarified a number of matters without interfering with the author's reliance upon primary sources. Moreover, while fully appreciating the limits demanded by time and space, the reviewer cannot avoid feeling that the integration of these purely ecclesiastical sources with the abundant extant documentary materials illustrative of the social and cultural life of the Valley in that period would have added clarity to the ex-

position of the situations which Bishop Rosati had to meet in the administration of his heterogeneous diocese. The impact of the Anglo-American frontier upon the Creole patterns of life in the older villages gave rise to a state of affairs which was not duplicated in the fresh-sprung towns which owed their existence to the advance of frontier settlement. The Creole civilization itself presented problems which were encountered but rarely at this period outside of the Mississippi Valley and Louisiana. Certain unhappy aspects of the early Creole hegemony hampered Bishop Rosati in his efforts at diocesan development, much as they had hampered his predecessor, Bishop Du Bourg. The fact that they failed to occasion much hindrance to his successor, Bishop Kenrick, is due in part to the effectiveness of the course of action inaugurated by Bishop Rosati.

Considering that the author is, neither by birth nor continued residence, a westerner, he has succeeded admirably in familiarizing himself with the general Catholic history of the western country. Errors of fact have been reduced to a minimum, although it might here be pointed out that the log cabins in which Bishop Flaget first housed his Kentucky seminary were located, not at Bardstown (p. 41), but at St. Stephen's, now Loretto, the site of the Motherhouse of the Sisters of Loretto.

The "Essay on the Sources" is very well done, and will be found helpful by all who have occasion to check the manuscript materials of western Catholic history. It is to be regretted that the author did not have access to the substantial file of the *Shepherd of the Valley* in the St. Louis University Library.

Dr. Easterly joins distinguished company in entering the ranks of the Catholic historians of the West. The present work can hardly be considered the final word on Bishop Rosati, but it does plot out the pattern upon which the author should proceed to produce the definitive life of that truly great prelate.

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From Barter to Slavery, The Economic Relations of Portuguese and Indians in the Settlement of Brazil, 1500-1580. By Alexander Marchant. The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series LX, Number 1. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1942. Pp. 160.

The more important collections of printed documents pertaining to the history of colonial Brazil have long been available for study in this country, but little use has been made of them. Utilizing these materials, and weighing his findings with the conclusions of the pertinent standard secondary sources such as Varnhagen, Simonsen, Almeida Prado, etc., Dr. Marchant has made an important contribution

to our knowledge of the economic relations of the Portuguese and Indians in sixteenth-century Brazil.

As the author points out, the term barter as used in this study is expanded to mean "the giving of goods by the Portuguese to obtain from the natives not only goods but also labor." The study is divided into three periods: 1500-1533, 1533-1549, and 1549-1580. During the first period, the brazilwood traders, and Portuguese coastguards protecting the region from French interlopers, were the first to enter into economic relations with the natives. "Though the purpose of one was economic and the purpose of the other was military, both obtained goods from the Indians and both seemed to have assumed that barter was necessary to get those goods; . . . they created a pattern of behavior that their Portuguese successors would follow in later contacts with the natives." In the case of the coastguards, barter was used to obtain food. In the case of the brazilwood traders, barter was used in exchange both for the felling and stripping of trees in the forest and for delivering the wood at a coastal factory in a form suitable for loading on the ships. Two possibilities were thus opened up for the later Portuguese. "The first was the continuation of barter, in the strict sense of the term: simply the giving of goods for goods. The second was the use of barter to obtain labor alone, and this second use was to become increasingly important when the later Portuguese began to give the natives goods to induce them to cultivate crops."

In the second period, with the *donatarios*, new elements were introduced into the economic pattern. "In the first place their going to Brazil to live distinguishes their colonies from the more or less transient posts from which the traders had conducted their exploitation of the land. In the second, the existence of their plantations implies the need for abundant and disciplined labor and suggests that some other than the usual barter relation would be necessary to provide it." Meanwhile, the exploitation of brazilwood soon exhausted the near-by supply, and it was necessary to go deeper into the hinterland to cut the wood. The result was that the Indians demanded more valuable goods in recompense. "Now the times were out of joint. The Indians were free to supply food and labor in exchange for wares; they were likewise free to refuse so to supply the Portuguese. . . . Confronted with a barter system that was breaking down, the Portuguese, more than ever in need of labor, found an alternative in enslavement, and, with the passage of time, efforts at enslaving the Indians for plantation labor became more and more likely." Slavery was no novelty among the Indians, who had long enslaved enemies captured in their tribal wars, nor was it a novelty to Europeans. Indian wars, a concomitant of settlement in Brazil, appear to have had two relations to the economic problem: first, "retaliatory wars, begun by natives against settlers who, faced with the need of plantation labor and with

the breakdown of the barter system, resorted to slavemaking"; second, "intertribal wars of natives, participated in to a greater or less degree by the Portuguese or French, which produced captives as slaves."

During the third period studied, with Brazil now under direct royal administration, the economic pattern of Brazil, founded in part on the earlier experience, was fixed for centuries to come. The first royal governor, Thomé de Sousa, and the Jesuit missionaries, who accompanied him, set the future pattern. "Sousa's solution was a compromise between the wishes and wants of the Indians, the settlers, and the King. First, he ordered that only those Indians who had shown themselves hostile to the Portuguese were to be assaulted, and, even then, only by the governor's army or by the settlers acting with his license. The captives made in what came to be called 'licit wars' might then legitimately be enslaved. . . . Sousa's second step was to regulate the intercourse of the natives with the Portuguese, using, when possible, barter as the method and the Jesuits as his agents. . . . A common desire to fix the wandering Indian tribes in villages near the Portuguese settlements was the starting point of the work of the governor and the Jesuits." The magnificent Jesuit *aldeia* system was thus begun. "The government and the Jesuits thus stood between the settlers and the Indians, insisting on the return to the familiar practice as a means of winning the interest of the free Indians, of giving them independence from the settlers, and, at the same time, of giving the Portuguese the benefit of their food and labor. As a consequence, different conditions of the Indians had different relations with the Portuguese. Free Indians [those on the Jesuit missions] could use barter, and the restored system existed side by side with the forced labor of the slave Indians."

Dr. Marchant's conclusions are well documented and convincingly set forth. The study is followed by a bibliographical note, in which the sources used are briefly evaluated, and a useful index.

Statements on pages 68 and 84 concerning the varying degrees of civilization of the natives seem contradictory. The Jesuit *aldeia* system is not clearly described, and the terms *casa*, *collegio*, *igreja* are used incorrectly. On pages 97 and 98 no distinction is made between the word *meninos* as applied to children in general and the Portuguese orphans in particular, who are the *meninos* in question in several cases on these pages. The exact character of the document briefed in the appendix might have been more fully described.

But these criticisms are all incidental. The monograph is a real contribution to the study of the history of colonial Brazil, and is another evidence of the widening interest in Brazilian studies in this country.

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Documents Relating to Northwest Missions, 1815-1827. Edited with notes and introduction by Grace Lee Nute. Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota, 1942. Pp. xix, 469.

The preface of this volume of documents written by Solon J. Buck explains the reason behind its publication. This is the first of a series of documentary *Publications* now being prepared by the Clarence Walworth Alvord Memorial Commission to honor the name of Alvord. Everyone acquainted with the life work of Professor Alvord will agree with the short tribute paid him by Mr. Buck, and more so with the concrete expression of the tribute arising in this and ensuing volumes dedicated to the memory of him.

Miss Nute in her introduction of some eight pages has prepared the setting for the *Documents*. The many letters and instructions "tell the story of the resumpions of Catholic missions among the Indians of the Northwest" from 1815 to 1827; the French and Latin letters are given in the original and in translation, while those already published in French elsewhere are given only in the English translation. In the broader setting the volume has to do primarily with Catholic missions and with the establishment of a bishopric in the Northwest and an archbishopric in Canada, or, with hierarchical organization. But the letters are light on Lord Selkirk's Red River Valley colony and on the colonization of Minnesota, North Dakota, and Manitoba. The correspondence pertaining to the advent of priests into the area, between Lord and Lady Selkirk and Bishop Plessis, between the priests and their shepherd, and the subsequent writings of notable pioneers of the upper Mississippi Valley settlements and missions, are full of interest.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN

Loyola University, Chicago

The Educational Aspects of the Missions in the Southwest. By Sister Mary Stanislaus Van Well, O. S. B. Marquette University Press, Milwaukee, 1942. Pp. 161.

This paper-covered volume is a considerably abridged printing of the author's doctoral dissertation. Despite the shortening nothing of the inherent value of the research work is lost. For the many items of information with respect to broader aspects of education on colonial frontiers and as a model for the evolution of a dissertation it may be read and studied with great profit by modern educators.

The scene for Sister Stanislaus' study is the Southwest, specifically, New Mexico, Arizona, Lower California, and Upper California. The time is the mission period. The term education is used in its broader sense, that is inclusive of formal, informal, vocational, and adult education. The question answered is: What did the missions contribute to the cultural heritage of the Southwest? The plan of attack: Definition of education and the social institutions which further it. The missions

as communities have long been recognized as beneficial frontier institutions, for by means of them the Indians were taught the ways of civilized life. As such, missionaries of the Franciscan, Jesuit, and Dominican Orders, fashioned procedures which have been followed by the United States Government in its handling of reservations. The missionaries formally taught the three R's, singing, elocution, doctrine, morals, and even Latin, history, Spanish, ritual, and general science to the younger neophytes. Less formally the natives in general were instructed in cooking, sewing, laundering, nursing, poultry raising, stock raising, gardening, dairying, plant production, agriculture, road building, carpentry, masonry, blacksmithing, care and repair of implements, shoes, houses, harness, and various of the finer arts of fashioning weapons, wood carving, and pottery.

The missions then are described in operation and as applying these elements of culture in their respective areas. Many of the famed missionaries pass in review as leading purveyors of the Old World culture.

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The Wisconsin: River of a Thousand Isles. By August Derleth. Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1942. Pp. xi, 366.

August Derleth has written of the scenic beauties of the Wisconsin with great enthusiasm, and has displayed a thorough knowledge of its natural features. In describing the early history of the river valley, the author has been less happy. His facts may be fairly accurate, but are sometimes stated in a way to create misconception in the mind of the reader; and his narrative of relations between white and Indian is strongly biased by a sentimental view of the Red Man. Mr. Derleth never finds the Indian in the wrong or the white man in the right.

There is, of course, no denial of the fact that the Indians were sometimes mistreated or cheated by the white men, but the attitude that all the troubles of the natives ensued upon the coming of the white men can hardly be supported by facts. The evil of drink was introduced by the traders, in spite of the opposition of the missionaries, who had the welfare of the Indian at heart rather than a desire to further trade at all costs. The evil of warfare, however, the Indians had acquired before the settlers came. Internecine war, in which sometimes whole tribes were wiped out, and during which horrible tortures were practiced on captives, was carried on long before the arrival of the white man.

Sentimentalists about the Indians do not consider the conditions which were to be found everywhere two hundred years ago. In times when peasants in Europe were put to death for petty thefts or poaching; when men and women, white as well as black, were sold into bondage which sometimes meant a living death; it is hardly to be ex-

pected that the rights of natives would be respected as they might be today. The idea that the Indians were cheated by being persuaded to sell Manhattan Island for a small amount predicates that that site would be worth millions today if the Indians still held it.

The incident of the so-called Red Bird massacre is typical of Mr. Derleth's attitude. The Winnebago had murdered a settler and his family and several had been arrested. The Sioux, anxious to incite the Winnebago to join them in warfare against the white men, lied to the Winnebago, stating that the prisoners had been cruelly tortured to death. Chief Red Bird, taking reprisal for the supposed deaths, visited a white family, accepted an invitation to breakfast and then, with his companions killed the father and a hired man, and scalped a baby. The mother and a small child escaped and gave the alarm. Later Red Bird surrendered and died in prison while awaiting trial. Mr. Derleth seems to feel that here all blame rests on the whites.

The author tells of the coming of the intrepid Perrot; of the historic journey of Father Marquette and Joliet; of La Salle and his faithful friend, Tonti; of Hercules Dousman and the early days of Prairie du Chien; and of later events in the history of Wisconsin. The statement that Perrot left no post in the Wisconsin River Valley does not agree with the marker in Prairie du Chien on the site of Fort St. Nicholas, established by Perrot supposedly.

The Jesuit missionaries receive tribute from the author for their efforts to help the Indians and for the value of their *Relations*. However, there are two passages which give a wrong slant to their activities. It is stated, for instance, that Father Allouez went to the settlement at Green Bay to forestall the Sulpitians, who were planning to begin mission work on the bay at the mouth of the Fox. Another statement is that the Jesuits stopped publication of their *Relations*, rather than comply with the Pope's requirement of 1673 that all reports of mission work be authorized by the Congregation of the Propaganda.

It is unfortunate that the controversy over the Badger Ordnance Works at Baraboo should be dragged into the book. Mr. Derleth takes sides violently with those who felt that the plant should have been put in another locality, disregarding the possibility that the Army had valid reasons for selecting that locality.

The narrative is marred frequently by long and involved sentences and the style is not Mr. Derleth's best. There is a comprehensive bibliography, including a few manuscripts, at the end of the book.

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